

The Nation

Vol. CXXXVIII, No. 3599

Founded 1865

Wednesday, June 27, 1934

America on the Work Dole

by James Rorty

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CONGRESS HAS ADJOURNED, only two days behind schedule, after depositing a huge frog-spawn of miscellaneous legislation on the President's desk. Without attempting detailed analysis, it may be said that in general Mr. Roosevelt got what he wanted—a little more in the case of the Frazier-Lemke-Long Farm Bankruptcy Act in behalf of which Huey Long staged a filibuster, and a good deal less in the Deficiency Bill which reduces the funds at the disposal of the President for relief purposes from an originally contemplated \$6,000,000,000 to \$3,716,000,000. The Copeland food-and-drug bill, the anti-lynching bill, and other more or less important bills were pigeon-holed; possibly the President wanted them, and possibly he is glad to have Congress take the onus of rejecting them. The Railway Brotherhoods crashed through at the last minute, and with Senator La Follette leading the assault, put through the Dill-Crosser amendment to the Railway Labor Act, written by Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Railroads. It spikes company unionism, sets up the principle of majority representation—in effect the closed shop—and establishes a National Mediation Board of three. A “new deal” for the Indians was passed in the form of the Wheeler-Howard bill, which sets up a \$10,000,000 revolving fund for loans to Indian tribes, provides an annual \$2,000,000 for the purchase of

land and water rights, and permits Indians to enter the Indian service. In the face of blunt warnings by Senator La Follette that business is apparently sliding into another slump, the Senate limited to \$500,000,000 the funds which the President is empowered to take from RFC balances and expend for relief purposes. Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, issued a statement estimating the total which might be required for all federal relief needs at “something over \$1,000,000,000.” The figures presented elsewhere in this issue convict Mr. Hopkins of optimism or worse.

REEEMPLOYMENT, chiefly through the National Housing Act, is obviously what the Administration is counting on. As passed, the housing measure embodies practically everything that competent architects and city planners didn't want and little that they did want. It retains, uses, and aids with government subsidies the whole ramified complex of real estate, banking, and speculative building interests. It is designed to pour profits into the pockets of the beneficiaries of the lumber and other building-materials codes, under which prices have been raised in some cases as high as 250 per cent. Federal home-renovation loans are limited to \$200,000,000. Mr. Hopkins is apparently in line for the post of National Housing Administrator, and he will doubtless make the best of a very bad business. The Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act, about which the President is reported to be dubious, establishes what is in effect a six-year partial moratorium on farm mortgages. Extension of time is granted to distressed farmers for payment of existing debts and mortgages; meanwhile they are permitted to retain possession of their property, under control of the courts, during the period of adjustment. Both House and Senate adjourned in a state of acute brain-fag and bewilderment. With minor revolts, on the whole, Congress executed another act of faith in the President and then went home, somewhat apprehensively, to ask, “How am I doing?”

THE REBUFF given Secretary Hull's suggestion of partial payment in kind on the war debts should make it evident, even to Congress, that the opportunity for collecting a substantial portion of these obligations has passed. Judging by the unanimity with which the proposal was rejected, Europe has at last lost patience with the United States for continually shutting its eyes to economic realities. For despite our belated recognition of the existence of a transfer problem, there is little indication either in the form of Secretary Hull's suggestion or in the official comments on it of a genuine desire to lighten the debtor's burden. No explanation has been given as to how such payments in kind might be made. If the United States merely meant that it was willing to accept a part of the \$86,000,000 owed by Britain on the June instalment in the form of rubber, tin, or whisky instead of gold, it is obvious that the debtor would receive no benefit whatsoever. The British treasury would have to raise precisely as many pounds as before in order to discharge its debt, and the effect on the international exchange

would be unaltered. Private American business interests would purchase their supplies of these commodities from the government instead of directly from the British exporter, and England would have so many fewer dollars to expend on American products. Only in case the United States agreed to receive payment in goods that would not otherwise be purchased abroad would the transfer problem be surmounted. Under a system of private enterprise this could be most effectively done by lowering tariffs on goods from the debtor countries, but with Mr. Hearst standing guard this is unlikely to be achieved since even the most ingenious form of payment would conflict with the real or supposed interest of some American economic group.

THE ISSUE AT STAKE, however, is not confined to war debts alone. George N. Peek, special adviser to the President on foreign trade, has shown that the United States has lost approximately twenty-three billion dollars since 1914 by refusing to adjust its commercial policy so as to receive payments on our foreign investments, public and private. This loss, unlike that recently estimated for the depression, does not exist chiefly on paper. It represents real goods and services, the product of American labor shipped abroad, for which we have received no compensating return. Put in simplest terms, this means that for the past twenty years the citizens of the United States have suffered an average per capita reduction of \$10 annually in their standard of living in order that we might pursue an anachronistic tariff policy. If this amount were required as tribute to a foreign potentate, our patriotic societies would rend the air with demands for relief from such an intolerable burden. But as a sacrifice to the golden calves of protectionism, it has been accepted without a murmur.

THERE IS MATERIAL for a distinguished symposium to be entitled, possibly, "On Our Way Out," in the letters of resignation written by departing New Dealers. That of W. O. Thompson resigning from the National Recovery Review Board is the latest and one of the most interesting. It reveals that Mr. Thompson rather than Mr. Darrow was the highly articulate militant who wrote the sensational supplement to the first report, recommending government ownership of basic industries. Under fire from General Johnson, Donald Richberg, the Labor Advisory Board, and other Administration defenders, the Review Board backed water in its second report, and approved the new NRA price-fixing policy. Mr. Thompson says that this second report was issued "without my knowledge and without my signature." In his letter of resignation Mr. Thompson points out that despite the exposure of the NRA's monopoly-fostering policies, General Johnson has no idea of changing these policies as they are written into existing codes, although they entail the progressive extinction of small business and the oppression of the consumer through price rises. Reiterating his conviction that the development of the NRA reveals "day by day a marked trend toward fascism in the United States," Mr. Thompson concludes, "The only solution involves a change in class relationships. Only a government by the workers and farmers can plan production, produce goods for use and not for profit, eliminate poverty, and raise the standards of living of the entire population." General Johnson's comeback was even more violent than usual.

At NRA's birthday celebration at Charlestown, West Virginia, which was attended by 25,000 out-of-town miners, the General characterized the Review Board's report as "an openly avowed assault on our whole system in favor of the semi-barbaric atrocities of half-civilized Russia." Apparently the General was not alone in his choler. The New York Times report of the celebration says that the occasion was marred by several heat prostrations.

THE NATION cannot support the opinion of its old friend and one-time contributor, Heywood Broun, that the government of the United States should have refused admission to Ernst Franz Sedgwick Hanfstängl. Mr. Broun argues that the authorities have kept out for political reasons such comparatively innocuous persons as Emma Goldman, and that consistency demands that Hanfstängl, as an active member of a bloody dictatorship, should be no more gently treated. This position is logical but nothing more. Mr. Broun knows the answer. The government should never have shut out Emma Goldman or Michael Karolyi or the uncounted other dissenters of the left. By the same token it should not have shut out Ernst Hanfstängl and, having admitted him, it is bound to protect him from the chance of physical attack. But after asserting this, *The Nation* hastens to the support of Heywood Broun and all others, Harvard men or not, who are utilizing the occasion of Mr. Hanfstängl's visit to assure him of the depth of their dislike for him personally and their abhorrence of his government. There is no liberal principle which protects a man from being told that he is a scoundrel, or that he consorts with murderers and thieves, or that he is a disgrace to the university which shared in his education. These are simple facts and should be expounded to Harvard's Nazi guest. If this representative of tyranny and oppression is to have the run of the country and the Harvard Yard, the rest of us should at least assume the right to tell him what we think of him.

UNDERGROUND REPORTS from Germany indicate that all is not quite so well with the Nazi regime as Herr Hitler would like the world to believe. Advices from Strasbourg give the figures on the recent factory elections which were, it is alleged, so unfavorable to the National Socialists that they did not dare publish the results. By the well-known rules of the dictatorship game, only one set of candidates was put up to be voted on. The voters were as closely watched as usual. Yet, according to the International Relief Association, in the armament factory of Fritz Werner, Berlin-Marienfelde, which has 1,500 workers, 150 voted "no," 250 crossed out the list, 400 altered the list on the ballot, and only 700 actually voted for the candidates. The Trans-Atlantic Information Service reports that in the publishing house of Ullstein, Berlin, only 2,070 valid votes out of a total of 4,000 were cast, and that of 500 votes at the *Volkswohlfversicherung* only 174 were in favor of the Nazi candidates. From the same source comes the news that at the Plinius factories near Berlin the workers refused to vote. In other plants in Berlin, the approximate percentage of Nazi votes was one-third of the total. At Glauerburg, near the German-Dutch frontier, 1,351 out of 2,300 workers at the textile works of Povel and Company took part in the elections, and only 700 Nazi votes were cast. The International Relief Association has received also one of the miniature

newspapers which is being so widely circulated in Germany, the first to be published by an underground trade union. It is a four-page paper, $3\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in the form of a photostatic glossy print so small it must be read under a magnifying glass. This, with such election returns as manage to seep out of the country, are gallant signs that the German people are still alive and struggling.

HITLER AND MUSSOLINI, meeting at Venice to the accompaniment of dazzling festivities and political rites, have agreed on a "virile peace" for Europe. This seems to involve Germany's return to Geneva—as soon as the principle of German equality in arms is accepted by the Powers—and Hitler's promise to give up Anschluss, this also to be contingent, however, on an agreement to hold early general elections in Austria. These terms are not yet explicit but they are assumed in the dispatches. Obviously, when the tumult and the shouting dies, it will appear that nothing has happened which is likely to relax the present desperate tensions in Europe. Elections in Austria, under present conditions, would probably establish Nazi control and thus make Austria a tail to Hitler's kite without any of the inconveniences of formal union. Nor is there any new reason to believe that France and its allies are more likely than they were before the recent meeting to accept a serious application of the principle of German equality. In fact France has already expressed its feeling about the reunion in Venice by voting an additional appropriation of three billion francs for defense and by sending M. Barthou to Bucharest to talk business with the foreign ministers of the countries of the Little Entente. In short, there seems to be no particular reason to hope for fair weather when dictators get together; instead the chance of even a virile peace grows daily smaller.

IT SEEMS LIKELY that the section of Illinois across the Mississippi from St. Louis will be the next "hot spot" on the industrial map. A month ago Norman Thomas was manhandled and imprisoned by Christian County deputy-sheriffs, and about the same time a dozen workers were jailed on charges of conspiracy to incite to riot and overthrow the government. Last week A. J. Muste, chairman of the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party, was picked up on the same charge plus "vagrancy." At the hearing, the vagrancy charge was dismissed, but Muste and two others were bound over on \$5,000 bonds for the September Grand Jury. The charge is based on the Illinois treason statute adopted in 1919. George A. Hill, Illinois Attorney General, told a reporter for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* that Muste and the others were imprisoned to show "the radical element in this county we have such a thing as law and order and to show the rank and file they have been misled." Under questioning by Muste's counsel, the officer who made the arrest said he had never heard of the Bill of Rights, didn't know who John Hancock was, and believed that the Constitution ought to be suspended in time of trouble. Incidentally, the immediate trouble is a strike in the plant of the Knapp-Monarch Company of Belleville. But there has been other trouble—the revolt of the Progressive miners against the rule of John Lewis, in which civil liberties were similarly abrogated. And there will be more, and more serious trouble unless Governor Horner, of the

State of Lincoln and John P. Altgeld, decides to take seriously the Illinois constitution, which is particularly explicit in its guaranties of free speech, security against unreasonable seizure, and the right of assembly.

ONE OF NRA's shabbiest deals to labor was revealed recently with the publication of the canners' code, which went into effect on June 11. Ignoring the fact that practically all the industry's work is seasonal, the code exempts seasonal workers handling "perishable agricultural commodities" from its basic thirty-six-hour week; instead, the code has no hour limit for such workers at all, providing merely that women must be paid overtime. Ignoring the fact that no large canning factory is located in our largest cities, NRA has established wage differentials that will enable the industry to pay men 25 and $27\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour and women 20 and $22\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour for as many hours as it pleases. Breaking its own precedents, the code permits piece-time work at $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour less than the minimum, for half the workers. Overtime need be paid for work only beyond the tenth hour daily, and the industry is permitted to work seven days a week. The code provides merely that a canner shall file notice of his need for any work-week beyond sixty hours; he will not have to wait for approval. The industry estimates that the code will increase the canner's price 4 cents per dozen cans of peas, 3 cents per dozen cans of corn and tomatoes, still more on other canned goods, and 1 cent per dozen cans generally speaking, because women will be paid overtime.

WONDERS, AS USUAL, scientific and therapeutic, studied reports of the annual session of the American Medical Association, just concluded in Cleveland. The awed layman read how a number of "anti-hormones" had been discovered, and that it was thought probable that each of those human accelerators, the hormones, had an anti-hormone brake to match. Dr. Oscar Riddle reported that the heart influenced the sympathetic nervous system only through "chemical intermediaries." Other research triumphs were unveiled, startling enough to make even Mr. Ripley gasp. First place, however, among the Medical Marvels of 1934 was easily won by the long-awaited official A.M.A. report on the socialization of medicine. The facts of the medical situation are simple and well known. The majority of the American population is without proper medical care. The majority of American doctors are at present not earning a decent living, and face an even more precarious future. Clearly, this malady of the body politic requires expert diagnosis, broad social vision, and immediate, drastic, expert treatment. Instead, the medical leadership, in convention assembled, turned a blind eye not merely upon proposed cures, but on the whole malady. This is by no means a harsh characterization of the "verdict" of the "judicial council" to the "house of delegates," issued to the public by Dr. Morris Fishbein in the form of "Ten Commandments." Prefaced by a resolution rapping sharply on the knuckles the American College of Surgeons, which had the day before had the temerity to issue a report mildly enunciating "principles on which plans for voluntary health insurance may be formulated," these pronouncements are in effect a command to the American public to pull in its neck and leave medicine to its sole owners and monopolists, the medical profession.

Germany Decides Not to Pay

WHEN the German revolution—and Hjalmar Schacht—were still young, the man who is now the President of the Reichsbank belonged to the left wing of the German Democratic Party, the only leftist bourgeois party in post-war Germany. "There can be no half-truths in politics," he was fond of quoting in those days. "One must be what one is, without compromise and reservation." Several years later he went over to the German Nationalists; the rising of Hitler's star soon found him in the National Socialist camp. But through all these political adjustments Herr Schacht has preserved an innate "radicalism." Certainly no other European Power in the last half century has dared to wipe out its obligations as summarily as has Germany under his guidance.

After four weeks of ineffectual negotiation and anxious waiting the Transfer Conference in Berlin abandoned its efforts with a gesture that might, they hoped, conceal the poverty of their accomplishments. Manifestly every proposition that could possibly be made by Germany's creditors hinged on her ability and willingness to pay. The delegates waited patiently for Mr. Schacht to submit a workable proposal. When it came at last on June 14, it was worse than even the most pessimistic among them had dared to envisage. What Herr Schacht offered was a six-months' moratorium on all foreign obligations including both the Young and the Dawes loans, a move that would save Germany in a single stroke 300,000,000 marks (\$120,000,000) in that half year on its private debts alone, outside of the Dawes and Young obligations.

The reader will recall that the Dawes and Young loans were floated in 1924 and 1930 respectively to enable Germany to refund certain of its reparations obligations to the Allied Powers. The Dawes bonds guarantee the loan issued under a plan proposed by a committee of international financiers of which Charles G. Dawes was chairman; the Young bonds a loan under a plan proposed by a similar committee six years later under Owen D. Young. These loans were guaranteed in this country by J. P. Morgan and Company. In Germany's defiant insistence on a moratorium on these loans, its tight grasp on its currency and its threat of industrial autarchy have become its chief financial armaments.

Recent official statements of Germany's financial and economic position have been cheerless indeed. At first it was generally assumed that this pessimism was dictated by German financial authorities with an eye to the Transfer Conference. To a certain extent this suspicion was probably justified, but it cannot be denied that economic conditions in the Reich are rapidly going from bad to worse and that the Reichsbank's reserves will soon be depleted. At the opening of the Creditors' Conference the "Institut für Konjunkturforschung" declared that pressure on Germany's trade, which still showed a favorable balance of 668 million marks in 1933, has been so tremendous that its final report would show an unfavorable balance of 140 million marks for the current year. This prognosis was skeptically received. But the truth puts these prophecies to shame. For the first four months of 1934 the passive balance of Germany's foreign

trade has grown to the staggering figure of 135.8 million marks, while her gold and exchange reserves have dropped to 3 per cent.

Should the months of May, June, and July bring the radical curtailment of imports the various emergency measures have decreed, the gravity of the economic crisis in the Reich will be sharply increased, even though its exports do not fall below the present figure of 300 million marks per month. In these three months Germany's industries will, however, have used up the largest part of their available reserves in foreign raw materials. To maintain production within the Reich under these circumstances and to continue the government's program of "job production" would become a hopeless undertaking. Yet both are essential if Germany's rearmament plans are to be carried out.

The Reich government will make an effort to place the nation on a basis of self-sufficiency. But it is clearly out of the question to satisfy even the most restricted demands of German industries for metals, textile fibers, oils, and other basic products. The substitution of other materials and the encouragement of a home production that would begin to satisfy national needs would involve enormous capital expenditures and would, under the most favorable conditions, merely supply the requirements of German industries for a few short months. As a measure of temporary relief such a step might conceivably have advantages. But meanwhile the country's finances, instead of permitting the continuation of a spurious semblance of returning prosperity—in effect an underwriting of armament expenditures by a further reduction in the standard of living of the masses—will necessarily experience further disintegration. How the present regime expects to meet this iron dilemma is hard to tell.

Apparently Great Britain and France have no intention of accepting the dictated moratorium. The former announces that it will impound German trade balances in England unless speedy satisfaction is given to British holders of Dawes and Young loans. France proposes a surtax on German goods to get funds to pay Germany's debts while Washington hopes to solve the problem by increased trade with the Reich. But that is precisely what Germany would like to accomplish. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reminds German creditors that it lies with them to increase Germany's ability to pay. Such tactics are worthy of the Nazi regime which may attribute its present difficulties to the use of just such methods in dealing with other nations in the recent past.

From all of this the casual reader might surmise, hopefully, that the Hitler regime has reached the end of its rope. This would be premature, to say the least. The Nazi regime has reserves that will permit it to continue for many months without a collapse of its national economy. Despite his protests, Herr Schacht will have to consent to inflation of the mark as the only way out. Germany holds Russian notes amounting to about 600 million marks, on which it may realize. It further possesses 200 millions which did not appear on its balance sheets, as was proven in the Creditors' Conference. In an emergency it can also confiscate foreign bonds amounting to 1,500 millions held by private persons

in the Reich; financial transactions during the World War proved how simple it is for a determined government to meet such emergencies.

The National Socialist state is much more elastic than a state based on individual capitalist initiative. With the help of terroristic methods it can crush the standard of living of the masses to still lower levels. Increased terror will go hand in hand with the lowering of subsistence levels. German fascism has not reached the breaking point. But German labor is slowly awakening from the mad dream of National Socialist restoration. The middle class and the peasantry are restive and deeply dissatisfied. The tone of the Nationalists is becoming more and more acrimonious from day to day. Papen's speech last Sunday was a portentous event. Even Hitler's hirelings are beginning to think.

Let 'em Drink Pop

NEW YORK'S attempts to regulate the milk industry have thus far led to just one conclusion: something is wrong somewhere, certainly with the industry and probably also with the regulating authorities. When Charles H. Baldwin, the Commissioner of Agriculture and Markets, in whom the new power to fix the price of milk is vested, ordered the price raised from ten to eleven cents a quart for Grade B milk, Dr. John B. Rice, City Health Commissioner, and Miss Helen Hall, of the Henry Street Settlement, the only two consumer representatives on the advisory board of fifteen members, objected. There ensued a flurry of protests and injunctions against the raise, in which producers, big and small distributors, dealers, and consumers all vociferated mutually contradictory reasons against the increase. But the order went into effect, and metropolitan infants—and their families—are out of luck for the time being.

As to what is wrong with the industry and with the investigation on which Commissioner Baldwin based the increase, Miss Hall has pointed out that four recent AAA reports for Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, and Chicago revealed distributors' profits running as high as 38 per cent. At one time during the controversy a threat of a consumer strike coincided with a protest by the farmers, who stood to gain only five-eighths of a cent from the price raise, and who feared, with reason, that it would cause a decreased sale of fluid milk.

In the milk business, however, the strike is a dubious weapon for either the farmer or the consumer. If the New York farmer strikes, the distributor simply buys in another district. Even Wisconsin has offered to supply New York's milk. And as for the consumer striking, adults can do without milk but scarcely babies. Not that either adults or babies can afford milk at the eleven-cent price. Miss Hall's study showed that of 1,587 people in a ten-block region around the Henry Street Settlement, 40 per cent were unemployed and 54 per cent of those employed were earning less than \$15 a week. Some of these people were spending as much as 18 per cent of their income for milk—and then not getting enough for their proper needs. Increasing the price of milk means decreasing the consumption, boosting the infant-mortality rate, and incidentally helping to bankrupt the farmer.

Mayor LaGuardia has attempted to cut the Gordian

knot by negotiating an arrangement whereby some sixty city milk stations distribute milk to the needy at eight cents a quart. H. A. Cronk, president of the Borden Company, has stated that he is supplying eight-cent milk to the city at a loss, "through a desire to help welfare work." But in Chicago, after the earlier attempts to fix consumers' milk prices were abandoned, the price dropped from eleven cents to as low as six and one-half cents even though the price fixed by AAA continued to be paid the farmer. And New York consumers, even before the price increase, were paying more for their milk than Boston and Philadelphia consumers.

Miss Hall is right in suspecting that there is more financial water than milk in that difference of six and one-half to seven and one-half cents between the price the farmer gets and the price the city consumer pays. Congress has ordered an investigation of the milk industry by the Federal Trade Commission. If the exploited consumers can join with the farmers, who are victimized not merely by the distributors but also by some of the milk-marketing cooperatives who foist vicious contracts upon their members, it is not impossible that they may be able to drive through to a national solution of the milk problem. Mayor LaGuardia's experiment has suggested the form this solution ought to take: make milk distribution a public utility.

The Steel Strike Stalls

M. R. GREEN, president of the American Federation of Labor, aided and abetted by the antique, docile Tighe leadership of the steel-workers' union, has had his way. For the time being, there will be no steel strike. No doubt this will distress those militant elements in the labor movement who are more concerned with strikes as an expression of revolutionary political temper than as strategic means toward the attainment of straight trade-union ends. Revolutionary implications aside, suspending the strike call was probably the sensible thing to do. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers would undoubtedly have been beaten had matters progressed to a showdown. Surrounding circumstances were much less favorable to the success of a strike than they were in 1919. Another defeat like that of 1919, and the union might well have lost all the ground it had painfully regained during the course of the past year.

No doubt these were the considerations which weighed heavily with Messrs. Green and Tighe, and which the rank-and-file leaders of the union must also have taken into account. Briefly Mr. Green's proposal is as follows: The President is to appoint an impartial board of three with jurisdiction over labor disputes in the steel industry. This board is to call for and conduct elections of employee representatives for collective bargaining. Majority rule is to prevail. The employers are to be obliged to recognize the representatives elected by the majority in any plant and to confer with these representatives with a view toward consummating collective agreements.

If Mr. Green believes that the steel companies will accept this formula, he is incredibly innocent. For almost a year, the National Labor Board has been seeking to establish principles of industrial relations identical with those con-

tained in his mediation proposal. Not only has the board failed; it has failed because the anti-union employers again and again have refused to tolerate any procedure which would permit employees to choose between trade unions and company unions as their agents for collective bargaining. Moreover, the anti-union employers have been dead set against majority rule, ostensibly because it would shut out minorities and individuals from the benefits of Section 7-a, in fact, because they see in it the first steps toward union recognition and the closed shop.

In thorough accord with this attitude was the proposed draft of the iron-and-steel code submitted by the employing companies in July, 1933. Section 2, Article 4 stated: "The plants of this industry are open to capable workmen without regard to their membership or non-membership in any labor organization. The industry firmly believes that the unqualified maintenance of this principle is in the interests of their employees." From this affirmation in favor of the open shop, Section 2 went on to declare that employee representation (company unionism) was the device best suited to implement collective bargaining. And in Schedule C of the proposed code, there was outlined an elaborate plan for establishing company-union systems in every unit of the industry. Fortunately for organized labor, the NRA did not permit the inclusion of these provisions in the approved code.

Nevertheless, the iron-and-steel industry did not swerve from its objectives. Company unions modelled after the Bethlehem Steel plan (dating back to 1919) were established in virtually every steel mill in the country. Legally entrenched behind these company unions, the employers not only refused to recognize the Amalgamated, but declined to permit any elections other than elections of representatives under the company-union plan. The Weirton case became the symbol of this attitude, and the steel-strike threat was labor's reply.

The next move in the union's strategy will be to lay the mediation proposal before President Roosevelt and Secretary Perkins. It is doubtful that the union will be able to get much comfort out of the Administration. True, the President is now authorized to create an election board or boards. In the dying hours of Congress, a makeshift joint resolution giving him such power was rushed through both the Senate and the House. But the boards contemplated in this resolution will be sadly limited in their authority. They will be empowered to arrange for and carry out elections; that is all. The resolution says nothing about majority rule as against proportional representation (the underlying idea of the automobile labor settlement of March 25). It does not prescribe that the employer shall be in any way obligated to deal with the persons or organizations chosen at such elections. It is silent on the subject of agreement-making technique to follow upon the election of representatives. In sum, any election held under the auspices of such a board or boards would have a strictly symbolic value. Either the trade union or the employer would be free to say, "I told you so," and to gloat over the successful demonstration of prior claims. Beyond this, the elections will settle nothing. Instead they will prepare the path for exactly the same kinds of controversies which have harassed the National Labor Board since August, 1933. As with the automobile strike, the President, with the help of Mr. Green, has again deferred the issue. But sooner or later the steel strike is bound to come.

Good English

FOR no particular reason a good deal of publicity has been given to the announcement recently made by Princeton University that it will establish a clinic for undergraduate illiterates. Other universities are said to have something of the sort, and it is doubtless needed, but we should hate to have the job of establishing standards and we should like to know just how they will be arrived at. We have, of course, our own prejudices which we arbitrarily impose on defenseless contributors, but we know very well that they have no very solid backing. Certainly there are differences not to be reconciled between "authorities" like, for example, those accomplished Nice Nellies the late Brothers Fowler and the easy-going Professor Krapp. The only sensible way to use them is the way we always do: When attacking someone else's solecisms, refer to "The King's English" or "Modern English Usage" by the former; when defending oneself, reach confidently for the latter's "The Knowledge of English." The method is nearly infallible.

Of course the problem would receive a kind of solution if we could persuade ourselves to accept the ex-cathedra pronouncements of some properly elected pope. In the first place, however, we won't, and in the second place the result would probably be disaster if we did, for, as Professor Krapp points out, the British association which pleads eloquently for some authoritative body appointed to save from degradation "the language of Shakespeare" seems to forget that "the language of Shakespeare" was in a state of almost complete anarchy and would never have been as fine as it is if Shakespeare and his contemporaries had not exhibited a reckless disregard for such traditions as existed. Any solecism persisted in long enough by the proper persons becomes good English, and the most outlandish new formations are soon neutralized if they prove their usefulness. Swift was a good stylist who once drew up a list of recently introduced words which no decent writer would use. Among them were "attribute," "eccentric," "entity," and "idiosyncrasy." And of course many of the "Americanisms" which horrify the British are, like "sick" in the general sense of "ill," merely examples of our conservative tendency to use words in a way that has gone out of fashion in England. Fowler devotes a great many very difficult pages to the use of "shall," "will," "should," and "would," despite the fact that careful investigation has proved conclusively that the alleged distinctions have never been consistently maintained by good writers.

A few of the expressions which we all try to avoid are bad because they are not clear. On the whole, however, the conscious changes we make in our style of writing or speaking are motivated by one thing only: the desire to suggest that we belong to the group whose habit it is to speak or write in that certain way. Our purpose (perfectly legitimate) is to suggest that we have had a certain education, accept certain traditions, or frequent a certain society. And of course this is just as true when we consciously employ words or turns of speech which suggest the "masses" as it is when we try to be "Oxford," "Boston," or "upper class." The Princeton clinic may train its patients to write good Princeton English. It cannot, in any absolute sense, teach them to write good English, for no one knows what that is.

A Cartoon by LOW



A GOOD WEEK.

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Issues and Men

The President and the Dying Congress

THE second round between President Roosevelt and the Congress is at an end and the honors are still with the Chief Executive. He has again shown extraordinary ability to lead and to direct. Without too obvious resort to politics or the use of undue pressure, he has played Congress with all the skill of the most expert fisherman with a trout on his hook. This has been the easier for him because of the enormous number of new offices created—some 80,000 more executive positions since the ending of the Hoover regime—and because of the incontestable fact that the bulk of the American people are still overwhelmingly behind the President; he remains for them their Rock of Faith. It would be idle to pretend that the President has achieved everything that he set out to accomplish. Congress has amended and altered his proposed legislation not a little and usually for the worse; and it scored heavily once in passing the Independent Offices Act over his veto. But when one looks at the session as a whole, one cannot withhold admiration of the President's tact, conciliatory power, and ability to lead. That Mr. Roosevelt was a good compromiser we all knew from his career as Governor of New York; his compromises during the last winter and spring have often grieved the onlooker; but at the same time it must be admitted that some of them, although their evil effects cannot yet be measured, have at least staved off wild inflation and a more dangerous remonetization of silver than we have actually witnessed.

It is hard to recall now the apprehension with which people watched the assembling of Congress. It was known to be largely inflationist and pro-silver, and its mood was reported to be distinctly dangerous. Could the President direct and lead it? Would this session show, like the last, that Congress had completely abdicated its constitutional power to originate, debate, and amend legislation and had become merely the slave of the White House? Or would it reassert its powers and refuse to be dictated to or to increase further the extraordinary authority already voted to the President? In other words, the country wished to know whether the parliamentary system was still intact or not; and if not, whether a complete dictatorship was at hand. Business men everywhere trembled, Wall Street shivered at the threat of a stiffened Securities Act, and the Stock Exchange was already preparing to ward off, if it could, the control bill which it well deserved. The investing public worried about whether it would not suffer further depreciation of such property as it still retained. Well, the session is at its end, the President has met the tremendous test of his leadership, and the parliamentary system remains intact.

It cannot, however, be said that the Congress itself has developed new strength and new leaders. The Republican opposition has been ridiculously feeble. When a party gets down to having such men as Senator Fess and Senator Robinson of Indiana as its chief spokesmen, it cannot expect to be considered either an intelligent or a forceful opposition. While it has rowed a great deal, and not without consider-

able justice, about our endangered liberties if the dictatorship should be permanent, it has been so wholly destitute of constructive alternatives as to be practically negligible. There are people in the East who really believe that there is a serious reaction against the President, not only in business circles but among the workers. Among the latter the feeling has some force in the Middle West because of the failure of the Administration to live up to the solemn pledge of Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act. But a flying trip to the South has convinced me anew that the President's prestige is not yet really shaken.

On the other hand, it cannot be alleged that the President has been much aided by the Democratic leadership. Joe Robinson remains anything but the ideal head of the party in the Senate. Much that is going on he does not understand; it is doubtful if he even realizes the orientation of the Roosevelt policies. Occasionally a man like Senator Costigan has come to the front and shown great intelligence and ability, but there are few such. The Progressives as a whole have done well, though the Johnson Act, which the President mistakenly signed, was a piece of petty pin-pricking of our Allied debtors unworthy of men who claim to be liberal and eager for a better world. Senator Costigan's handling of the sugar bill was a masterly performance and extraordinarily courageous, for he was vilified to an unbelievable degree by one of the worst exponents of gutter journalism that we have in the United States—the *Denver Post*. That some of the Democratic Congressmen will fall by the wayside in the coming election is plain. Quite a few were elected by very small majorities and still others as a result of exceptional circumstances, as in Minnesota, where the entire delegation was elected at large by the State as a whole and not in individual districts. Some of these men will be no loss; it is too early to tell whether new men in accord with the spirit and purposes of the New Deal will turn up in the next Congress.

One thing is certain: no man is more eager for the adjournment of Congress than the President. We may now look for a vigorous development of his more liberal, not to say radical, program. Of this his recent announcement that he will ask Congress next winter for a great scheme of social insurance against unemployment and to take care of the aged is a significant indication. There are those close to the President who declare that there will be no doubt this summer about whether he is turning to the left or becoming conservative. His action in suggesting such a new departure as federal civilian-pension legislation has in many quarters been written down as smart politics, intended not merely to prepare Congress for the next development of the New Deal but to influence the coming elections. Certainly it is good politics, but it is also something more; such a measure ought to be passed at once—was it not urged in the Bull Moose platform of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912?—in order to bring this country in its social legislation abreast of other great countries of the world. It will be wise leadership as well as

sound strategy if the President makes use of the next six months to prepare the public mind for his program of advanced social legislation, so that Congress will know the temper of the people as soon as it meets.

No survey of the ending session would be complete without a statement of the President's major blunders and of the points where he has yielded and the opportunities he has missed to strengthen the New Deal. His signing of the Vinson bill will either result in the initiation of an international naval race, or in forcing Japan and England into further limitation of fleets. It seems unbelievable, with all the suffering in the land, that nothing has been done to create an orderly and permanent system of administering relief for the unemployed and the poverty-stricken. America sorely needs an established system of public-welfare services coordinating the functions of municipal, State, and federal relief authorities. Although many towns and cities are without adequate banking facilities, nothing has been done to develop a government system of banks or even to throw open the present postal savings banks for unlimited deposits. Congress is adjourning without having provided an adequate housing plan or done anything whatever for our collapsing educational system. It has not stiffened Section 7-a of the Recovery Act, and the President has mistakenly abandoned the licensing system, which has just expired by limitation, although that gave him his great whip hand over the corporations of the country. The Administration has been powerless to insist that the great corporations which pledged their word to abide by the codes should live up to their agreements in their labor relations, with the result that the country and its recovery are being sorely beset by the innumerable and thoroughly justified strikes. The price practices which were

jeopardizing the whole NRA structure have now been partially ended, but the government has shrunk from taking the advanced position on unionization which was the logical outcome of Section 7-a and the whole code theory. Nor can the President escape just censure for permitting the emasculation of the Tugwell bill regulating the advertising and sale of medicines and food.

Finally, in the field of international relations both the President and Congress are entitled to great credit for the new Cuban treaty, with its repeal of the Platt Amendment which made impossible genuine Cuban independence and progress, and for including the Cuban sugar producers within the scope of the Costigan bill, which dealt otherwise only with American and Philippine sugar producers. The Philippine Independence Act, faulty as it is, is none the less a great step forward in granting that independence which the United States promised to the Philippines thirty-six years ago. The bill conferring additional, and possibly unconstitutional, powers upon the President to negotiate reciprocal tariff agreements substantially lowering American tariffs is a long deferred step toward getting at a chief cause of the world-wide economic disaster, while the Arms Embargo Act means an advance in international relations which may become a precedent of great importance. All in all this constitutes a record of achievement which, whatever the mistakes and shortcomings, proves that there is no need to despair of republican and parliamentary institutions in the United States.

Bruce Garrison Villard

America on the Work Dole

By JAMES RORTY

THE letters FERA—Federal Emergency Relief Administration—mark one of the trails which the New Deal has attempted to cut through the terrifying jungle of depression-demoralized America. Another trail, now abandoned, was marked CWA—Civil Works Administration. Others, on which construction is still in progress, are marked NRA, PWA, AAA, RFC, and so forth. One must remember that all these trails are detours—crude, bumpy, and expensive substitutes for the main traffic arteries which are marked variously Recovery Highway, Prosperity Street, and Business-as-Usual Boulevard.

For various reasons these main traffic arteries have become more or less impassable during the past five years. They are all private thoroughfares, theoretically kept in repair by the profit-motivated flow of the traffic itself—the more or less automatic exchange of services and goods under the “law” of supply and demand.

The New Deal accepted this theory and refrained from taking over these arteries, confining itself to regulating them and attempting to increase the traffic. To date it has not appreciably increased. Meanwhile, however, the traffic on the various detours has increased, to the alarm of the private owners who collect toll on the main highways. And now

the social workers, who were given the job of clearing that FERA trail, think it will be necessary to remove the letter “E” from the sign, making it FRA. In other words, they think it must become a permanent, if rather desolate, roadway. They think this will be necessary even if the President's latest proposals for unemployment, old-age, and health insurance are put into effect by the next Congress. They do not believe these measures will effectively reroute the traffic over the main arteries, which are overgrown with capital claims, blocked by tariffs, bogged by monopolies, and chipped by chisellers.

The image is inexact and inadequate, of course. But certainly the recognition by social workers that the “emergency” is permanent, that both private and public relief have broken down, that the States cannot or will not shoulder the continuing task of feeding, clothing, and housing their destitute citizens, and that the federal government must take over these responsibilities—surely this general recognition is one of the most significant developments which the American people are called upon to contemplate and measure.

At the National Conference of Social Work in Kansas City the FERA was the outstanding subject of discussion. In presenting his paper, “FERA—Yesterday, Today, and

Tomorrow," C. M. Bookman, past president of the conference, executive director of the Community Chest of Cincinnati, and for some months special assistant to the Relief Administration, said: "If we can drive toward a permanent set-up for handling relief and related problems, if we can secure more ample appropriations, and if we can prepare a more far-reaching program with permanent values to present to the next Congress, some progress will have been made."

Of the \$1,322,000,000 relief appropriation asked by the President in his May 15 recommendation, it appears that \$940,000,000 is intended for the Relief Administration, and this amount is supposed to last until the end of the next fiscal year. Mr. Bookman, in a postscript to his paper, gives the following indication of how far this appropriation is likely to stretch:

Should we estimate less than four and one-half million families as our relief load for some months ahead? At an average of \$30 per family per month, this would require an appropriation of \$135,000,000 per month for relief. In using \$30 per month per family I have placed the estimate beyond any relief program yet undertaken. Can an average of \$30, after four years of privation, furnish sufficient relief to provide any degree of safety to the individuals or to society? We are still thinking of relief in terms of a few months' emergency . . . I am pleading for a different approach to the whole problem of relief until industry actually absorbs the unemployed. "No one will be permitted to starve" is no longer an ethically sound or a socially safe program of relief.

Nor, one might add, is that "No one shall be permitted to starve" slogan an accurate expression of what actually has been happening in the administration of relief to date. If one looks at the FERA at the center one sees huge expenditures, an exceptionally liberal and on the whole courageous administrator in the person of Mr. Hopkins, and a devoted and hard-working staff. But as one moves to the periphery and observes the FERA in action, the picture changes.

I had occasion recently to observe an FERA strike in Meigs County, Ohio. The Unemployed League had pulled a 100 per cent strike on two local FERA projects, demanding the 50 cents an hour CWA scale and a minimum of \$15 a week. The strike was broken by the sheriff and a mob of seventy-five deputies who read the riot act to a meeting of strikers in front of the Pomeroy City Hall, and prevented the leaders from reading communications from Mr. Hopkins's office in reply to their protests. The leaders were jailed and the strike was temporarily broken. Arnold Johnson, secretary of the Ohio Unemployed League, and Louis Budenz, secretary of the American Workers' Party, who a week later was leading the picket line of the Auto-Lite strikers at Toledo, interviewed Judge Peoples of Pomeroy, before whom the Meigs County strikers were arraigned. "Who is this Hopkins?" demanded the learned judge. "He is the director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration," was the reply. The Judge, who had denounced in court the "communistic" and "anarchistic" agitators who were disrupting the peace of Meigs County, wasn't satisfied. "Is Hopkins a member of the Unemployed League?" he asked.

Conditions in Meigs County are no worse than in many other parts of the country. But in Pomeroy, Meigs County, the local doctors weren't paid for relief calls for three months until they held a meeting and decided not to

answer any more such calls. Also, it was only the protests of the Unemployed League which stopped the distribution of moldy pork. The day the Unemployed League leaders were jailed, Jim Bowen, one of their members, died. Three months before, his wife had given birth to a child which died almost immediately because the mother had been undernourished during pregnancy; there were no sheets to change the bed on that occasion and there was nothing to eat in the house until the Unemployed League put pressure on the local authorities; there was still very little to eat in the house when Jim Bowen died. *And he lay dead in his bed for five days before the undertaker would move the body.* Again the Unemployed League had to supplement the inadequacies of local government; their members procured a burial plot, forced the undertaker to furnish transportation, and dug Jim Bowen's grave.

Any investigator traveling through Ohio or almost any other State will come back with his notebook full of similar macabre stories. In some parts of Ohio relief is down to a cent and a half per meal per person. That means that for dinner a family of six people divides a hamburger sandwich. Perhaps social workers have this sort of thing in mind when they apprehend that present standards of relief are not sufficient "to provide any degree of safety to the individuals or to society."

These peripheral episodes should be kept in mind in considering the totals of past, present, and contemplated relief budgets. They are huge, but as compared to the need of destitute and desperate people they are utterly inadequate.

HOW MUCH IS BEING SPENT?

Federal relief expenditures up to March 31, 1934, were as follows:

Original grant from RFC	\$300,000,000
Grants to States and territories—	
May 23, 1933, to March 31, 1934	453,091,626
General relief purposes	\$400,379,085
Transient relief	9,380,613
Self-help organizations	680,274
Educational program	7,092,154
Commodities	35,559,500
FERA funds transferred to CWA	88,910,000
Total	\$542,001,626
Funds available April 1 to June 30, 1934	107,998,374

Total to be spent May 23, 1933, to June 30, 1934 \$650,000,000

The \$107,998,374 is not enough to carry through to the end of this fiscal year. With the drought and other demands, other appropriations must be made. This is generally known. Moreover, there will be additional appropriations for housing and house rehabilitation.

Funds spent by the federal government represent about 60 per cent of those spent in the United States by local, State, and federal relief administrations. Between May 23 and December 31, 1933, the total expenditures were:

Local	State	Federal	Total
\$199,681,203	\$111,969,959	\$479,115,221	\$790,766,384
25.2%	14.2%	60.6%	100.0%

Twenty-nine States receive more than 60.6 per cent. The States which in 1933 obtained the largest proportion of their relief funds from the federal government, with the per-

centage figures, are as follows: South Carolina, 99.7; Arkansas, 99.4; Louisiana, 97.9; Alabama, 97.4; Tennessee, 96.2; Mississippi, 99.0; Virginia, 95.4; Georgia, 95.1; Texas, 94.6; Kentucky, 94.5. The ten States whose federal appropriations formed the lowest percentage of the total sum expended for relief were New York, 42.7; Rhode Island, 36.7; Nebraska, 34.4; Delaware, 26.5; Vermont, 26.1; New Jersey, 24.0; Massachusetts, 18.1; Wyoming, 16.2; Maine, 15.7; Connecticut, 11.6.

The following States contributed nothing to the relief budget in 1933: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas. In 1933 Georgia contributed to emergency relief the sum of \$4.95; Virginia, \$30.00; Kentucky, \$127.00. The following States contributed less than 5 per cent of the 1933 relief budget: Colorado, Idaho, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin. Some of these States, of course, have constitutional barriers to giving relief, and most relief is local.

HOW MUCH PER FAMILY?

For January, 1934, the average monthly relief benefit per family for the United States was \$16.77. In cities it was \$21.52 and in rural regions it was \$12.98. The average monthly relief benefits per family for ten high States as of January, 1934, were as follows: New York, \$32.16; Massachusetts, \$29.35; Maine, \$29.09; Delaware, \$26.24; Maryland, \$25.56; New Jersey, \$25.12; Illinois, \$22.45; Rhode Island, \$20.99; Minnesota, \$20.78; New Hampshire, \$19.64. In the relief spectrum the highest urban rates are as follows: New York, \$36.91; Massachusetts, \$31.81; Maryland, \$32.47; Illinois, \$30.18; Delaware, \$28.37. The average monthly relief benefits per family for ten low States as of January, 1934, were: Oklahoma, \$4.95; Colorado, \$5.70; South Carolina, \$6.13; Georgia, \$6.64; North Carolina, \$6.95; Texas, \$6.76; New Mexico, \$7.20; Alabama, \$7.94; Tennessee, \$8.66; Kansas, \$8.94. This means that the average family in New York gets each month \$32.16, whereas the rate in Oklahoma is \$4.95—about \$8.00 a week in New York and \$1.50 a week in Oklahoma.

This, in short, is how the local community, the State, and the federal government spends in the United States about \$60,000,000 for relief each month.

WHAT IS THE NEED?

The number of families receiving relief in the United States has ranged from 4,560,000 in March, 1933, to 2,998,000 in September, 1933; from 3,359,000 in November, 1933, to 2,485,000 in January, 1934. But the number of families reported is no index of the number of families in need. In March, 1933, it was relatively easy to get on relief. In some States it is easy now, because political fish are being fried. Every now and then there is a cleaning, when the number on relief is cut down through application of the means test, pauper's oath, or strict investigation. Many are crowded off the relief rolls by sheer competition among clients. Periodically the monthly relief allowance per family goes down, with the result that many families are forced off relief into the chiseling industries operating in violation of the NRA. They are glad to get into such industries, and conspire to protect their chiseling employers.

CHISELERS

It is time to say a word about these chiselers, and about employers in general, because many of them play a dual role. In Washington it is they and their lawyers who write low wage scales into the codes and strike out standards clauses. In the field it is usually they who run the State and local relief administrations. Former coal barons, steel magnates, utility executives, plantation owners, operators of large chain stores and department stores—these men and their lawyers decide how much relief shall be given, and where, and how.

While the CWA was operating, these local administrators conspired to cut wages wherever possible. Although the PWA wage scale had been accepted, and although the federal government paid the bill, still they drove as hard bargains with workers as if they were spending their own money. Because of such methods CWA workers have been pressing claims for back pay of over \$25,000,000. If all the just claims were paid, the sum would be easily twice that. When the stipulated scale for carpenters was \$1 an hour, these administrators issued orders that they would pay 60 cents and no more. If common labor was to receive 40 cents per hour, they kept the scale down to 30 cents an hour or less. Their point of view was simple, and frankly stated: they objected to raising the prevailing wage scale. Nothing must be permitted to happen that would raise the standard of living or stir up the people to want more.

In justice to Mr. Hopkins it must be said that he and his assistants have fought these fellows; the FERA has taken the position that it will not be a party to any move to lower wages. But the FERA has been frustrated wherever these leading citizens—Rotarians, Kiwanians, big-time and small-time employers and politicians—have had anything to do with the relief of the unemployed.

The old-line craft unions have also played a curious role in the drama. In some cities where initiation fees run from \$100 to \$300 and where dues are high, many men have had to submit to having as much as half of their relief earnings taken to pay union dues. As a result many craft-monopoly union men have gone into various left-wing or "rump" unions. Some of these outside unions are led by racketeers; others, led by honest workers, rarely get recognition.

BRASS HATS

Not all the relief administrators are business Babbitts. Some of them are military men, and a few of these, being honest and independent, have done a good job. Others, terrified by the "red menace," have played into the hands of the professional patriots. They pray for the reds to start something so that they can call out the boys with the bayonets and tear gas. They want a showdown, believing that a little discipline would be "good for the national morale."

What role do social workers play in the relief show? Many of them play a highly creditable one, regarding the victims of the depression as their clients and fighting their battles day in and day out. Others—far too many—carry over the attitudes derived from their past experience as employees of private relief agencies. Their job, they feel, is to stretch the relief dollar as far as it will go, and they are humbly respectful of their big-business bosses.

A final word must be said concerning the present status of the FERA and its Works Division. It combines the worst features of work relief and civil works. Under the new plan

a man is hired on the basis of need and certified for a certain budgetary allowance which varies in different States from a low of \$4.95 to a high of \$32.15 per month. He then sits down to wait for a job. When he gets one, he is paid the local rate for the kind of labor he does and works the necessary number of hours to meet his budget. But take a bricklayer in Oklahoma, where the prevailing union rate is \$1 an hour; he would work a fraction less than five hours a month to make his minimum budget. But the rules say a man must work not less than eighteen hours in any month. That means that the low-budget States cannot put relief clients, especially the skilled workers, on jobs.

MORALE

Today from all over the country come reports that the morale of relief clients is lower than ever before during the depression. What constitutes morale? Under such conditions, when relief workers and other workers strike and demonstrate, is their morale good or bad? What is the role

of the FERA in strikes? In justice to the FERA it must be admitted that it has fed strikers. It fed the striking seamen in Baltimore, where the government operates its own shelters for sailors. Elsewhere along the Atlantic seaboard government relief is distributed through private agencies; in New York alone there are about twenty such agencies, representing various nationalities and religions. These private agencies do not, as a rule, feed strikers; in fact, it has been charged that some of them serve in effect as strike-breaking agencies for the shipping companies. These private agencies joined the shipping companies in a roar of protest when the relief administration fed the Baltimore strikers.

FERA has also fed dock strikers in San Pedro and textile strikers in South Carolina and Tennessee. As the industrial conflict tightens, however, this policy will be under fire. It may be predicted with confidence that the "legality" or "illegality" of a given strike will become an issue, that the big industrialists will exert great pressure, and that if the FERA stands its ground it will be nothing short of a miracle.

A British Bulwark Against Fascism

By SYDNEY R. ELLIOTT

London, May 20

THE Whitsun Congress of the Cooperative Union of Great Britain records amazing increases in the membership of retail cooperative societies, new records in the wholesale trade of the Consumers' Cooperative Movement, and new advances by the Cooperative Party, the political mouthpiece of British cooperation. These gains have been made despite the fact that this is the fourth year of Britain's second great depression, and despite the most amazing press campaign of 1934—the attack launched on cooperation by Lord Beaverbrook, ex-concrete-combine king, ex-cabinet minister, and now syndicated-press peer.

For years, and especially in the years of depression, private business, big and small, has sought legislative action to cripple the cooperative movement. Behind such allegations as "the 'Co-ops' do not pay taxes"—allegations which prominent income-revenue officers and judges of the high courts have been at pains to deny—a bitter, ceaseless strife has been waged against this growing organization, which exists, avowedly, to reorganize trade and finance in the interest of consumers. The small shopkeeper, of course, has been the spearhead of this campaign. He has seen the new road transport take customers from the village store to the big town shops offering service at prices with which he cannot compete. He has seen the London stores steal his trade by the development of a mail-order business which converts the million-sale newspapers into shop windows and bargain counters. He has felt the pressure of branded-goods producers, of trusts and combines which, spending hundreds of thousands of pounds per annum in newspaper advertising, will not permit their fixed price systems to be upset by "free competition" or by the hole-and-corner salesmanship typical of a nation of shopkeepers. He has seen, too, his trade vanish before the penetrative power of chain stores. And of course he is ready to shout against anything or anybody, especially the local cooperative society.

The decaying British shopkeeper class—there are half a million of these "island pharisees"—stands in relation to the cooperative societies exactly where the middle-class Nordics of Central Europe stood in relation to the Jews. When Lord Beaverbrook, whose business and political association with the distributive combines is not denied, calls it to action, it responds with the same careless enthusiasm that characterized the German middle class beguiled by a chancellor who was the puppet of the steel masters. The trust, the price cartel, the combine, and the Federation of British Industries provide the real drive behind the present attack on British cooperation.

Why the attack? The answer may be given in a sentence: In its ninety years of life the Consumers' Cooperative Movement has achieved success. As a matter of historical fact, cooperation is a century-old movement. It sprang into vigorous life when, with the repeal of the Combination Act in 1799, the proletariat of Britain was forced from trade unions and industrial activity into economic endeavor. A Dr. William King of Brighton preached a gospel which still bears an authentic ring for reformers. "You are poor," he said in effect, "because you work for others and not for yourselves. True, you have not capital with which to employ yourselves. But you have purchasing power. Combine to purchase. Let the economies of combined buying accumulate as capital. Use that capital to establish your own workshop. So will you end the exploitation of labor, which arises from ignorance."

Before long what were called "union shops," on the King model, sprang up all over the country. They attracted the support of many revolutionary thinkers. Even Lady Byron sought solace in sustaining them while her faithless poet husband played Don Juan in Greece. Then they died before the political promise of Chartism and the grandiose schemes of Robert Owen.

But the lesson taught by the union shops was not lost, even on Robert Owen. "Price without profit" was the

phrase in which he dramatized their and his own high aims. Practical application of the principle of "price without profit" came in 1844 when twenty-eight cotton weavers of Rochdale began, through storekeeping, to change the face of Britain. These twenty-eight weavers had no doubt about their objective. It was to control the means of production, distribution, and exchange, of education and of government. They were in the King-Owen tradition. Their essential contribution to agitation for the new social order was a method by which the idea of "price without profit" could be popularized and rendered understandable by every man.

The method was dividend on purchases. Interest on capital was fixed—an important break with British finance, which imposes upon industry a legal obligation to sustain the overlordship of capital and pay shareholders as high rates of interest as possible. Ordinary market prices were charged for goods, since the cooperative movement was not then in the position it now occupies of dictating prices in certain markets. At the end of each accountancy period the dividend, or surplus, arising from trade was divided among members according to their purchases; in ratio, that is, to their loyalty to this method of trading.

Rochdale cooperation did not catch on like wildfire; it had none of the catch phrases with which reformers feed the furnace of social revolution. The hard-headed, thoughtful type of worker, however, appreciated the value of a system from which he could realize immediate, tangible benefits. So Rochdale cooperation spread. Societies selling bread and tea in back streets extended their field. They joined forces to carry on wholesale trade. As they organized and measured their markets—and this scientific measurement of the market is the secret of cooperation's economic success—they produced to supply these markets. Expansion revealed new needs, fresh opportunities. Cooperation entered the banking and insurance business. Slowly, almost unwillingly, cooperators recognized that many economic battles are fought on political fields. In 1917 they created, under the auspices of the Cooperative Union—the movement's legal and educational authority—a Cooperative Party now boasting a membership exceeding 4,000,000 and allied with, although not affiliated to, the Labor Party.

Note the results. There are today more than 7,000,000 cooperators in Great Britain; with their families they represent possibly one in three of the entire population. They do a wholesale and retail trade of nearly £350,000,000, financing it with a capital—not one penny of which is quoted on the Stock Exchange—of £220,000,000. Their Insurance Society has an annual premium income exceeding £5,000,000, and their bank a yearly turnover of £600,000,000.

The "Co-ops" are the biggest British millers. The flour produced in "Co-op" mills bakes one in four loaves of British bread. They are the biggest tea growers and distributors in the world, bringing much of their supply from their own tea gardens in India and Ceylon. They are the biggest soap manufacturers outside the gigantic Lever combine. They are steadily capturing, in their 10,000 retail shops, an increasing proportion of Britain's coal, meat, and milk trade. A score of governmental reports testify to their efficiency in distribution and production. Sixty per cent of the dividends—these "divis" are averaging £24,000,000—are retained to finance new enterprise; cooperation taps a source of capital free from money-market manipulation.

In matters pertaining to social welfare this movement of consumers has large achievements to its credit. It fostered the free library in Great Britain and was a pioneer in adult education. It has built convalescent homes, created cultural agencies, and developed contacts with the life of democracy at many points. Powerful propaganda agencies, like its own Women's Cooperative Guild, are assured of its support in promoting sex equality and an expansion of state and civic services. Ninety in every hundred of its 260,000 employees find membership in a trade union a condition of their employment. All enjoy conditions of labor far beyond the standards obtaining in private trade. In 1906, for example, the Cooperative Wholesale Society guaranteed its adult women workers a minimum wage of 17s. per week. This concession was a useful lever in the nation-wide campaign which won for women, in 1909, a minimum wage of 11s. 3d. per week by state regulation. The movement, too, has set the pace in raising food standards. It has shamed its more reputable competitors into describing accurately the nature and quality of packeted goods. Its example ended the custom of including the weight of the packet with the weight of tea.

The most vital fact of all, however, is this: The cooperative movement, in its control as in its ownership, is democratic. Every consumer-member, be his shareholding large or small, has one vote. Policy is directed by popularly elected boards of management. It is applied by officials who, if they are not so highly paid as similar executives in the capitalistic world, exercise more real leadership by virtue of an integrity and efficiency which mark them out as the potential civil service of a new economic democracy.

It was not an accident that the Nazis in Germany made the free functioning cooperative a first target for attack. It is not an accident that the invisible empire of big business which dominates Whitehall, having crippled British trade unionism and crushed the political Labor Party, has imposed penal taxation on cooperative societies. Millions of consumers, themselves mastering the intricacies of business, protecting their savings against stock-exchange jugglery, expanding the area of well-paid employment, and meeting and beating monopoly on the battlefield of trade, are a more serious menace to the dictatorship of finance than any number of bomb-throwing agitators. It is difficult to see fascism striking root in Britain if any considerable section of the population persists, as cooperative consumers have persisted, in changing the economic face of the country by wisely conceived, well-disciplined action.

To make the British cooperative movement more quickly responsive to a national mind and leadership is the immediate task of the movement's thinkers. Within the last twelve months they have established a National Cooperative Authority. It organized, in opposition to the Chamberlain cooperative tax, a protest petition signed by nearly 3,000,000 electors—the biggest petition presented to the Mother of Parliaments since Chartist days. It converted the press peers' campaign of abuse into a striking advertisement which sent cooperative trade and membership soaring. Now it is pressing forward boldly with proposals to unify cooperation, to make it a more aggressive price factor in the market, to strengthen its political voice, and to equip it with a virile national press.

Ten years hence Consumers' Cooperation in Britain may celebrate with its centenary the achievement of economic democracy at the center of a world empire.

Russia and the League

By LOUIS FISCHER

Moscow, June 4

I DISLIKE the idea of the Soviet Union in the League of Nations. The Bolsheviks are now ready to join a body which they always branded as a weapon of imperialism and as a capitalist instrument designed to strengthen capitalist domination. Its mandates they regarded as a fiction to mask colonial expansion. Its efforts at disarmament they derided as ineffective and as calculated to mislead real pacifists into believing that Geneva's debates would produce results. Yet today, when disarmament is dead and the subject under discussion is the doubtful possibility of regulating rearmament, Moscow smiles on this organization of Powers which obviously will not do collectively what they refuse to do individually. The League has either sanctioned violations of territorial sovereignty—Vilna, Upper Silesia—or collapsed helplessly in the face of them—Manchuria, Shanghai, Morocco, Turkey in 1921-22, Nicaragua. It has not solved one major political problem, and has mishandled even such relatively simple questions as opium, the white-slave traffic, and Liberia. It has served the national interests now of England, now of America, now of France, now of Italy; Litvinov often used it for purposes of disarmament propaganda; up to the present, however, it has not developed into an international corporation capable of removing the debris of one war or preventing another. Nevertheless, Moscow displays a new-born sympathy for it.

What has changed? Is the change wholly one of Bolshevik policy and mentality or is the international situation different?

Even in times as rich in historic events as the post-war period, Japan's occupation of Manchuria, beginning in September, 1931, and the emergence of a militantly nationalistic fascist Germany frankly bent on arming and expanding must be recorded as outstanding milestones in world affairs. If the Powers needed any encouragement to discard some small vestigial inhibitions against rearmament they found it in these two "might is right" developments. Both Japan and Germany had defied treaties and world public opinion, yet none could say them nay. Pro-armament interests welcomed this circumstance as an unanswerable argument, while a number of nations felt a justifiable fear lest Germany and Japan, fortified by a well-cultivated popular conviction that internal conditions required foreign expansion, would attack their neighbors. Politicians everywhere began to demand increases in national arms strength. The "Second World War" became a topic of daily discussion.

Historical analogies, however, are rarely perfect. Before 1914 all the big European Powers, as well as some of the minor ones and Japan, were interested in territorial conquest. Each country desired to extend its domains at the expense of an enemy or of an undeveloped area. Their secret treaties prove it. Today's international situation is not the same. A whole group of important European nations whose boundaries were fixed or recast by the Versailles peace treaty are committed to the maintenance of the status quo. They do not want to tamper with the map. The first World War

gave them as much as they can expect to possess. They are in a condition of complete or almost complete territorial saturation. These countries are France, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Belgium.

This French constellation must have peace because it fears that war will rob it of the benefits reaped from the Versailles treaty. It therefore always inclines to resist attempts upon the existing frontier structure. The Versailles peace is iniquitous, but none of its major injustices could be removed without war. Revision means war. For this reason the Soviet Union sides with the French group of states. The Soviet Union cannot possibly want war. It has everything to gain and nothing to lose from peace. It has plenty of territory, it believes in progress through intensive industrialization rather than through territorial aggrandizement, it is convinced that revolution must grow in national soil and cannot be carried by the sword, and it yearns for the greatest possible peaceful breathing-space in which to build socialism as a model for the proletariats of other nations. This Muscovite attitude prolongs the anti-war front from the Pyrenees to Vladivostok. It ends in Japan. It is broken by Germany.

Is it entirely accidental that the two countries whose temper is most anti-pacifist saw fit to secede from the League of Nations? The League was altogether unable to prevent Germany and Japan from doing what they wanted to do. Yet both considered the League an impediment, and retired from it. This fact neither strengthens the League nor modifies its character, for it is conceivable that Germany and Japan, both formally still members of the Geneva institution, may return to it without even a confession of guilt. And it would be the business of the League—even with Russia in its midst—to try to persuade Japan and Germany to become active members again. Meanwhile, nevertheless, their withdrawal makes it easier to argue in the Soviet Union for greater intimacy with the League.

But the chief reason for Moscow's readiness, in principle, to join the League is the French desire to enjoy Soviet cooperation at Geneva. The Soviet government needs French help. It is a fairly safe assertion that Japan is impressed by Russian military strength in the Far East and will hesitate to invade Siberia without an assurance that Poland or Germany or both will simultaneously attack the U. S. S. R. in the West. Although Poland is not exactly a vassal of France, France has considerable influence in Warsaw. France, moreover, can paralyze any German troop movement toward the East by threatening the Rhine and the Ruhr. If France, therefore, guarantees safety to Russia in the West, Russia is almost secure on the Pacific. France in large measure holds the key to the Soviet problem of war or peace.

France also needs Russia. In the Franco-German antagonism, which is of course France's chief concern, there are four "neutrals"—the United States, England, Italy, and the U. S. S. R.—who can determine whether there is to be another war. Some time ago Walter Lippmann suggested in

the New York *Herald Tribune* that the United States and England could keep out of the next war if they agreed in advance to do so. Apart from whether such neutrality would be feasible—and I doubt it—this is the best way of bringing on the next war. For if Germany, for instance, thought that she could meet France in single combat while America and Britain held aloof, she would certainly be much more inclined to start trouble than if she knew that England and the United States might support France. An Anglo-American neutrality compact would be the most potent force for hastening another conflict. There is good ground for the contention that if Germany had been definitely convinced in 1914 of England's readiness to fight at the side of France, the Kaiser would not have invaded Belgium. And if Germany had suspected that America would enter the war, peace might have come in 1917.

This being the case, France has endeavored ever since 1918 to persuade America and England to guarantee her security. Such a guaranty, if public, could reduce the likelihood of a European war to next to zero. But the United States refused in 1919 and has consistently refused since then. England gave France certain guaranties by signing the Locarno pacts in 1925 when there was not much likelihood of an early German offensive. But since the new phase of Germany's struggle for arms equality set in, Downing Street has not been as unsympathetic to German aims as Paris might have wished. England apparently proposes to retain her traditional role of arbiter between France and Germany. Standing on the fulcrum of the eternal Franco-German seesaw, the British government can press now with one foot, now with the other, in the hope of deciding which end of the beam shall be uppermost. It is a tenable thesis that England kept secret her pledge to rush to the aid of France until troops were actually marching on the Continent in 1914 so that the Germans would not be deterred from launching the adventure which, England hoped, would undermine her most dangerous rival and the strongest European Power. It is certainly arguable that Ramsay MacDonald and Sir John Simon are allowed to pursue a veiled pro-German policy because of the British wish to readjust the continental balance of power, which at present favors France. In any event, it is obvious to France, especially after Great Britain's recent refusal to guarantee the execution of a disarmament agreement which may some day be negotiated, that England is not prepared to guarantee French security. Nor is Italy, with her ambitions in Africa and the Balkans, prepared to do so. There remains the fourth "neutral," the Soviet Union.

Maxim Litvinov's love for pacts is well known, and he has recently been sounding foreign statesmen on the advisability of negotiating a series of pacts of mutual assistance by the terms of which France and her European friends and the Soviet Union, and also any other nations which wished to adhere, would promise their aid in case one of them was attacked. This may ultimately become the method of implementing the Kellogg Pact and a means of breathing life into the League Covenant's article on sanctions. The adoption by Russia's European neighbors and all the members of the Little Entente of Litvinov's famous definition of aggressor may now be regarded as a preliminary step toward such pacts of mutual assistance. Nevertheless, the matter is far from simple and no details have yet been disclosed. Will

France help the U. S. S. R. in case only of an attack by Japan? Does such a system of pacts involve Soviet approval of all of Europe's frontiers? How would the Soviet Union help France if she were attacked by Germany; would the Red Army march through Poland? France could definitely prevent a Western offensive against the U. S. S. R., but the U. S. S. R. has no common frontier with Germany. It has no common boundary even with Lithuania, which might be more sympathetic than Poland to the transit of Soviet troops into East Prussia. Nor could Soviet economic sanctions do Germany much harm. On the other hand, if Poland's ties with Germany grow closer, a French pledge to Moscow to block a Polish attack on the U. S. S. R. depreciates in value, whereas Russia's ability to hinder German-Polish military cooperation then acquires vital importance for France. But a Polish-German entente against France and the U. S. S. R. seems rather far-fetched at the moment.

All in all, Russia stands to gain more from these contemplated pacts of mutual assistance than France. It is probable, therefore, that although the pacts could very well be signed without Russia joining the League, France makes such adherence a condition of her acceptance of Litvinov's pacts. France, not unimpressed by Litvinov's performance at Geneva, desires Moscow's cooperation in the League to counterbalance the influence of England and Italy.

In bourgeois governments ministers often disagree, and there may be differences of opinion even among the leaders of the highly disciplined Bolshevik state. In 1926, when Germany was about to enter the League of Nations, Foreign Commissar Chicherin moved heaven and earth to prevent it. He unsuccessfully applied every manner of pressure on the Wilhelmstrasse because he was afraid that if Germany adhered to the League she would abandon her friendship with the U. S. S. R. and adopt a purely Western orientation which would isolate Russia. Stalin, however, entertained no such fears. He thought, on the contrary, that Germany's presence at Geneva would introduce a friend of Russia into councils that were actually anti-Soviet. This proved to be the case in 1927 when, after the British-Soviet diplomatic rupture following the Arcos raid, Sir Austen Chamberlain attempted at Geneva to organize a bloc against the Soviet Union. Stresemann resisted the effort and it failed.

Stalin, like Lenin in his time, believes in making use of "the contradictions among the capitalist Powers" to insure peace to the Soviet Union. In 1918, when the Allies offered help to the Red Army, Lenin voted in favor of the "receipt of support and arms from the Anglo-French imperialist brigands." Nowadays Soviet leaders are not so outspoken. But if friendship with France can keep the Soviets out of war and if such friendship requires Russia's adherence to the League, the Kremlin is ready to take that odium upon itself. Whether the Soviet government will join still remains in doubt, however. There are no constants in international politics, and the marked worsening of Anglo-French relations may be the beginning of their improvement—in which case Great Britain would conceivably try to dissuade France from accepting Litvinov's pacts of mutual assistance. And then, one supposes, the Soviets would not enter the League of Nations. Moreover, Poland and Spain may demand permanent seats on the League Council when Russia gets one. This and other factors may delay the admission of the U. S. S. R.

Is the N.A.A.C.P. Retreating?

By HELEN BOARDMAN and MARTHA GRUENING

ALITTLE more than a year ago Helen Boardman, writing in *The Nation* (March 8, 1933), summed up developments in the Crawford case up to that time as follows: "George Crawford's fate is still uncertain. Meanwhile another very grave issue is raised. Is the South learning a new and legal procedure?" This question has now been answered affirmatively, and the answer has raised a still more disturbing question: Has the South's best tool in establishing such a procedure been the N. A. A. C. P.?

To recapitulate briefly the facts of the case. On January 12, 1933, a Negro giving the name of Joseph Taylor was arrested in Boston on a charge of burglary. He was later identified by finger prints as George Crawford, under indictment in Virginia for the murder of Mrs. Agnes Boeing Ilsley and her maid, Mrs. Mina Buckner. The evidence against Crawford was purely circumstantial. The finger prints which tallied with those of "Taylor" in Boston were not found at the scene of the crime—none was ever found there—but were those taken when Crawford was arrested in Virginia some years before on a charge of larceny. He had been pardoned for saving the life of a prison official when the latter was attacked by another convict, and afterward he had worked for the prison doctor, who had obtained his pardon and who occupied the cottage on the Ilsley estate where the murder later occurred. Some months before the crime Crawford had disappeared, going to Boston with Mrs. Bertie de Neal, a colored woman who left her husband and children to accompany him. The murder was reported on January 13, 1932, by Mrs. Ilsley's brother, Paul Boeing. Boeing's story was that, contrary to his usual custom, he had slept the night before away from the cottage, staying in the big house to guard it from burglars, and that he had found the lifeless bodies of the two women when he came to the cottage for breakfast next morning. Immediately the hue and cry went up for Crawford. No other clue or possibility seems to have been seriously considered by the Virginia authorities, either then or later. No trace of Crawford was found, however, until his arrest as Taylor in Boston, just one year later. The State of Virginia then demanded his extradition. An alleged confession obtained from Crawford at this time by John Galleher, Prosecuting Attorney of Virginia, admitted Crawford's presence at the scene of the crime and in the company of the murderer, a Negro designated as "Charlie Johnson," but denied that Crawford had had any part in the actual killing. Crawford, however, absolutely denied making this confession and steadily refused to sign it.

At the extradition hearings held in Boston on February 7 and 8, 1933, Crawford was represented by two Massachusetts attorneys, J. Weston Allen, a former Attorney-General of the State, and Butler R. Wilson, a prominent colored attorney of Boston and president of the Boston branch of the N. A. A. C. P. They presented evidence to show that the "confession" had been obtained in violation of Crawford's constitutional rights and put Crawford himself on the stand to testify to the manner in which it was obtained. They also introduced evidence impeaching the credibility of the two

Negro witnesses who testified that they had seen Crawford in Middleburg, Virginia, on the day before the crime—one of these had a criminal record. Most important of all they put seven reputable witnesses on the stand to testify to Crawford's presence in Boston from September, 1931, to February, 1932. On February 18, however, Governor Ely granted the writ of extradition. On the same day Mr. Wilson applied for a writ of habeas corpus. This was granted by the late Judge Lowell, who delivered at the same time his now famous opinion that to return Crawford to Virginia would be to violate his constitutional rights, since Virginia excluded Negroes from her juries. This decision was appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, which reversed it. The United States Supreme Court refused to review this decision, and Crawford was accordingly returned to Virginia.

The amended plea in the habeas-corpus proceedings was based in part on an investigation made in Virginia by Charles Houston, vice-dean of the Law School of Howard University. After the extradition the case was in the hands of Mr. Houston, who was assisted by Leon A. Ransom, Edward Lovett, and James G. Tyson, all of Washington, D. C.

Members of the N. A. A. C. P. who were interested in the case naturally expected it to be handled along the lines of the defense initiated in Boston. Publicity and appeals for funds along these lines were sent out by the association throughout the summer. One such appeal, headed "Save George Crawford," stated that "careful and exhaustive investigation by the N. A. A. C. P. has established that Crawford was in Boston at the time Mrs. Ilsley and her maid were murdered in Virginia," and further that "victory means, first, snatching an innocent man from the electric chair, and, second, that States, like individuals, must come into court with clean hands—that States which violate the Negro's constitutional rights should not themselves have the right to demand the return of Negroes from States where they have sought asylum." We were deeply shocked therefore when on December 18 the newspapers announced not only that Crawford had been found guilty of the murder of Mrs. Ilsley and had received a life sentence, but that the defense had asked for this sentence on the ground that Crawford, if his life were spared, could identify the real murderer, Charlie Johnson, who would otherwise go unpunished, *since no one else could do so* (our italics). Our bewilderment grew still deeper when Walter White published in the January *Crisis* an article entitled George Crawford—Symbol, in which he hailed the verdict as "one of the most distinguished victories for justice to the Negro yet won." To many persons the case seemed, on the contrary, a smashing defeat. Crawford had been found guilty and had been sentenced by an all-white jury; Judge Lowell had died under the shadow of impeachment proceedings in Congress. His decision had been reversed by the circuit court, and the United States Supreme Court had refused to reconsider it. Where was the victory?

At the annual business meeting of the N. A. A. C. P. early in January, 1934, Walter White stated again that a

great victory had been won, that Crawford was indubitably guilty but had lied at first to his attorneys. In reply to a question from Martha Gruening as to just when and where Crawford had admitted his guilt, he replied that Crawford had confessed to Mr. Houston just before the trial in a private interview. The circumstances as explained by Mr. White were that shortly before the opening of the trial Mr. Houston had interviewed Bertie de Neal, Crawford's former sweetheart, in the jail where she was detained as a material witness for the prosecution. Though very reluctant to speak at first, under prompting from the sheriff she admitted that she knew that Crawford was in the vicinity of Middleburg the day before the crime was discovered. Mr. Houston had then returned to Crawford's cell and "confronted" him with Bertie de Neal's testimony and Crawford had broken down and confessed.

Helen Boardman then wrote Mr. White asking numerous specific questions about the defense, in particular about its failure to weigh the testimony of alibi and other favorable witnesses against the testimony of Bertie de Neal. To this Mr. White replied briefly, repeating his statement that Crawford had confessed "freely and fully" to his attorney. As this left nearly all her specific questions unanswered, she wrote again asking them more insistently. To this letter Mr. White replied that he would refer her letter to Mr. Houston. When a month went by without any further reply we were sufficiently troubled to bring the matter to the attention of the editors of *The Nation*.

Meanwhile Crawford was confined in the Henrico County jail and not in the penitentiary, where he is now serving two "consecutive" life sentences. On January 25 Mr. Houston wrote the clerk of the court in Leesburg that Crawford was anxious to be transferred to the penitentiary in Richmond, that he would not appeal, and that the time for filing a bill of exceptions had expired. Crawford was still in jail, however, when on February 10 a Negro newspaper, the Norfolk, Virginia, *Journal and Guide*, carried a leading article purporting to be an interview with him. In this interview he was reported to have said that he had been "framed." He also stated that he would not of his own free will plead guilty to the Buckner indictment, that he did not know Charlie Johnson, and could not identify him. Just two days later Crawford was brought to Leesburg to plead to the Buckner indictment, and pleaded guilty "of his own free will."

According to the *Loudon Times-Mirror* of February 15 this was what took place before the plea:

Judge Alexander, Galleher, and Houston were closeted in one of the jury rooms before sentence was passed and it was understood that the purported interview was discussed. *Houston had previously made it clear that he regarded Crawford as an unreliable client and was ready to wash his hands of the case. Houston asked the court to state to Crawford that one of the conditions of the sentence was that he aid the State in running down Johnson. [Italics ours.]*

This statement is borne out not only by the stenographic transcript of the pleading but by a letter written by Mr. Houston to the *Journal and Guide* which appeared in that paper on February 17, 1934. He said in part:

In Leesburg today Crawford voluntarily pleaded guilty to the Buckner indictment. Before we went to court I

confronted him with your paper . . . I told him that under the circumstances I would not take the responsibility of pleading him and he must make his own plea.

Before I let him plead I called attention of the court to your article and explained . . . also that *I would not be a party to the proceedings if Crawford was going to repudiate his offer to me to help locate and identify Charlie Johnson. [Italics ours.]*

On February 19 Mr. Houston wrote for the first time to Helen Boardman. Somewhat later he made the statement that the alibi witnesses had not been called by the defense because they had been seen in Boston and none of them had been able to place Crawford in Boston "before February, 1932, when one pinned them down to dates." Meanwhile, however, we had seen the three principal alibi witnesses and had their affidavits placing Crawford in Boston in January, 1932, and deposing further that no one connected with the defense had questioned them about it between the hearing and the Leesburg trial. We were unable to understand this discrepancy and were very much worried by it.

On the basis of the facts we then had, we wrote an article questioning the handling of the case which *The Nation* submitted to Mr. Houston for reply. Mr. Houston not only replied but came to New York for two conferences and placed the transcript of the trial and other documents at our disposal. At the first of these conferences it was made clear that the witnesses referred to above had not been seen, though Mr. Houston apparently believed that they had. His associates, Messrs. Ranson and Tyson, had seen two of the seven witnesses who testified at the extradition hearing and one of these, Ernest Louis, had also given us an affidavit placing Crawford in Boston in the latter part of January, 1932. While freely admitting this, Mr. Houston felt that it did not matter greatly since he believed, on the strength of Crawford's confession to him and as a result of independent investigation in Virginia, that the latter was guilty. This position has at first sight considerable logic. Though a sound alibi is a perfect defense, when the defendant's participation in the crime is established, this defense is shattered. On the basis of all the testimony, however, we cannot escape the feeling that Mr. Houston accepted Crawford's confession and corroborative evidence too readily. He failed to see the Boston witnesses and consistently ignored or disbelieved all evidence pointing to Crawford's innocence. He failed to allow for the atmosphere under which Crawford's several confessions—later recanted—were made and for the fact that much of the testimony corroborating them was first obtained from witnesses under duress, as in Bertie de Neal's case, or from disreputable witnesses like General Jackson, the ex-convict. As Edwin Borchard has shown in his "Convicting the Innocent," innocent people have not infrequently confessed to crimes of which they are accused even without duress, and every confession should be subjected to every possible check and verification before being accepted.

The Boston confession is worthless on its face; it shows only too plainly that it was obtained by means which the inquisitors did not care to acknowledge. It begins with four pages of questions and answers, during which Crawford stood firm, denied all knowledge of the crime, and insisted that he had not returned to Virginia since he had left in September, 1931, and that Basil Hutchins, the undertaker for whom he had worked, could verify this.

The last of these questions and answers read as follows:

Q. And if Hutchinson (Hutchins) says you didn't work every day?

A. He can't say that and be telling the truth.

On the next page, under the heading "Additional Statement of George Crawford," though no break in time or procedure is indicated and no reason for any change, the next question is, most surprisingly:

Q. You are willing to make this statement freely without hope of reward?

A. Yes, sir. . . .

From this point the confession proceeds very much as Gal-
leher wished, that is, it agrees with the story of the crime he
had built up in the course of a year, largely on the testimony
of Bertie de Neal and other presumably frightened and help-
less Negroes who were rounded up and held for questioning.
Paul Boeing's "friends would not allow the authorities to
question him" because he was "unnerved." (This statement
was made by Mr. Houston and by others in Middleburg.) It
should not be forgotten either that much of this testimony
was obtained from Negro witnesses while a posse was actu-
ally hunting for Crawford.

Though the Boston confession is easily ruled out, Craw-
ford's confession to Houston remains; but with this private
confession the trial court had nothing to do. Even if Mr.
Houston was convinced of Crawford's guilt, Crawford still
came before the court presumed to be innocent, and it was
still up to the prosecution to prove him guilty by *legal* means.

This the prosecution did not do. Yet Crawford was
convicted. The defense called no witness to testify in his
behalf and made no serious attempt on questions of fact to
shake prosecution witnesses. To this generally passive and
defeatist policy two exceptions should be noted: Mr. Ran-
som's cross-examination of the State's pathologist, Dr. Hun-
ter, and Mr. Houston's handling of the Boston witnesses on
the motion to exclude the confession. Both elicited important
admissions favorable to the defense. It is difficult to under-
stand the failure to cross-examine certain other witnesses,
especially Detective Sergeant Murphy of Washington. This
witness testified to finding in Mrs. Ilsley's car a note in Craw-
ford's handwriting, perhaps the most damaging piece of testi-
mony against Crawford. Mr. Houston had had reason to
believe that this note had not been found when the car was
first searched, yet he did not cross-examine Murphy on this
point, nor ask him why he kept the note for nearly a month
before handing it to the sheriff of Loudon County. At our
second conference Mr. Houston explained that he had later
information correcting his first impression, but he could not
recall when or where he had received this information.

On questions of law, Mr. Houston made a better show-
ing. He argued ably the motions to quash the indictment on
the jury issue and to exclude the confession. The preponder-
ance of evidence on both these issues was on the side of the
defense. The real tragedy of the Crawford case, the inher-
ent flaw in Virginia justice, is revealed right here by the
fact that neither the weight of evidence nor the ability of
counsel in argument affected the question in the least.
Negroes were politely but unjustly excluded from the jury.
Crawford's confession was politely but unjustly admitted in
evidence. Judge McLemore intimated to Mr. Houston that
an appeal was open to him on this point, yet though his client
had been convicted on evidence inadequate to sustain a con-

viction, if evidence, illegally admitted, had been excluded,
Mr. Houston did not appeal. Apart from the Boston con-
fession, unsigned, repudiated by Crawford, and obviously
obtained by illegal methods, the State had evidence of nothing
more than Crawford's presence in Virginia. It had no eye-
witnesses to the crime, none who could place him at the
scene of the crime within seven or eight hours of it, no finger
prints to connect him with it, no bloodstained clothing, mur-
derous weapon, or recognizable loot found in his possession.
Yet Crawford was convicted, and Walter White hailed the
result as a victory. Mr. Houston, though he put the matter
less strongly, also said he considered it one. It seemed to
him a definite victory that Negro lawyers pleaded for the
first time in a Virginia court defending a Negro charged
with murdering a white woman, and he also felt that ra-
cial relations in Virginia had been definitely improved as a
result of the trial. There is no doubt that a very high and
unusual degree of surface courtesy and fair play did prevail
at the trial. There was no rough stuff as there was at Scotts-
boro, no gross appeal to race prejudice, no bickering or bad
temper. Counsel on both sides displayed good temper, re-
straint, and sportsmanship, and Judge McLemore's rulings
on all minor points were surprisingly fair. Virginia showed
sportsmanship, in other words, as long as it did not inter-
fere with Crawford's conviction. But when Crawford evi-
denced dislike of being unfairly convicted with all the ameni-
ties, when he gave the interview complaining that he had been
"framed" and—truthfully or otherwise—reaffirmed his inno-
cence, Virginia promptly ran true to form and he got a
second life sentence on a forced plea of guilty. As Richard
Hale said in reviewing the case in the *Crisis*, "Crawford
failed to appeal because he flinched under duress. There
were two persons murdered. After he got a life sentence for
one murder, they threatened him with the noose for the other
and he bargained away his constitutional grievance."

We realize that this was a difficult case and that any
course Crawford's counsel might take had its dangers, but
Mr. Houston's failure to appeal shows that he dared not
put Virginia justice to any real test. Even if Crawford was
guilty, moreover, the constitutional issue remained. Virginia
had not "come into court with clean hands," yet an all-white
jury had convicted Crawford. Was this a victory for jus-
tice? We do not think so. It is possible that some ground
was gained when Negroes pleaded as these did in a Virginia
county courthouse; it is also possible that racial relations
have improved somewhat in Virginia since the trial, but we
feel that for both these gains too high a price was paid.

The choice in such cases is not between surrender of
of the client's constitutional rights, and mass pressure and
agitation regardless of the client's interests. Both courses
are advocated sincerely and danger inheres in both; danger
not only to the client but to the principles of the defending
association. The precedent established in the Crawford case
is, to the best of our belief, a new one in the history of the
N. A. A. C. P. Its fine record of militant defense in the past
is illustrated by the Arkansas riot cases, also argued by a
colored lawyer, which furnished the basis of the Scottsboro
appeal to the United States Supreme Court. Is this policy
to be exchanged for one of abject surrender? Has the
N. A. A. C. P. decided on retreat?

[Mr. Houston's reply will appear in next week's Nation. This will close
the discussion.—Editors The Nation.]

In the Driftway

THE Drifter's taste in material objects is moderately modern. He likes much of the newest architecture; he has no objection to eating off chromium tables; and he sits gladly enough on those chairs which have the spring in the legs themselves. Recently, however, a wandering thought woke him to a sudden rebellion against the doctrine of "functional design" in its purest form.

"WHAT a work is man!" the Drifter was saying to himself as he often does. Then all at once it occurred to him that this paragon of nature is not everywhere designed as a fanatical modern would have him. Consider, for example, those two little appendages which are sometimes like delicate shells and sometimes like cauliflowers, but which are, in either event, always called "ears." Poets praise them; lovers bestow kisses upon their periphery; and no one would willingly part with the pair he has. Yet they perform, so physiologists assure us, no useful function. They did so once when they were large and mobile, but we could hear every whit as well as if they were no longer there. Obviously, then, it is a ridiculous affectation to have them obtruding their mincing uselessness on the sides of our heads. They are not "sincere." As the aestheticians would say, they "vitiates the whole design" and serve only to betray how the designer is seeking to cover up his own lack of originality with a bit of nostalgic decoration. Let them either be long and hairy and mobile or let them not be at all.

THE Drifter chooses to stress this particular illustration of what he believes to be a far from isolated phenomenon because it happens to be one which can be discussed without the slightest violation of the proprieties. He believes, however, that the female form would furnish several others equally striking. Indeed, it is his personal opinion that woman, despite the fact that she undoubtedly possesses several features having a specific function, is predominantly baroque in design, and that the charm which she has for man depends largely upon forms and appendages which are at least partly decorative in intention. Strip her body of ornament, allow her to retain only those characteristics which are the direct expression of her function, and the Drifter wagers that she would find very few opportunities for exercising it. He realizes that the modern dressmaker has shown a tendency to minimize the baroque features of his patrons. Curves have been obscured and angles have been substituted as being more in accord with contemporary tendencies. The facts remain nevertheless, first, that he has not entirely succeeded and, second, that the geometrical woman has yet to prove herself more than a fad.

THE Drifter is not looking for a wife. Wives are commonly supposed to rescue men from drifting, and however desirable it may be that most men should be so rescued, the process would obviously be fatal to the only usefulness of one who has made drifting into a profession. But if the

Drifter were looking for a wife he would not ask prospects to wiggle their ears in order to show him that they were functional. Neither, he thinks, would he insist that the successful candidate be without other decorative features. And if the one he finally picked didn't go well with the modernistic furniture it would be the furniture he would throw out.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Jewish Fascism

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The storm raised in the Zionist press in America about my article *The Menace of Jewish Fascism*, appearing in *The Nation* of April 25, together with the criticism of it in the issue of May 16, clearly indicates that the subject is badly in need of clarification. May I, therefore, ask you to grant me a little more space to reply, not, indeed, to the entire avalanche of criticism, but only to that small portion of it which appeared in your columns and which is fairly representative of the rest?

Rabbi Louis I. Newman and Mr. Samuel Duker argue that fascism is not at all possible among Jews because "fascism implies a strong, centralized state . . . and Jews have no state and are not likely to have one for a long time." The argument sounds logical but its chief premise is not complete and its conclusion does not agree with reality. For the political aspect of fascism is not its only, not even its principal, feature. The foundation of fascism is economic. It is an effort on the part of the owning classes, upper and middle, to retain and to protect their property from the growing demands of the property-

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less class. In this principal object Jews of property are no less interested than are other people of the same class.

The absence of a political state does not seem to prevent fascist development. There are other forms of brute force than those of the organized state. The private armies of the Jewish fascists in Poland manage to terrorize the peaceful Jewish population in the Polish provincial towns without the aid of a Jewish state, as the official Zionist press of Warsaw complains without ceasing. A well-disciplined military organization of from fifty to one hundred thousand men can exercise much brute force without a government of its own. Besides, whenever the aid of a state is needed, it is not imperative that it be only Jewish. A non-Jewish fascist state can perform the job just as well. In Poland, in Austria, and even in Nazi Germany Jewish Revisionists have been known to denounce their labor and liberal Zionist opponents as Marxists and Communists to the Ochranka, Gestapo, and the secret police of the Dollfuss government.

The greatest error of people who argue that Jewish fascism is not possible is that they treat the matter as a subject for theoretical discussion instead of dealing with it as a fact. Jewish fascism is a fact—one which has passed the stage of denial. It is a fact that there is in existence an extremist nationalist Jewish party which is so closely akin to German fascism that it is difficult to differentiate between the two. It is a fact that the party maintains a private army of its own (for which it claims a strength of 100,000), which is conducted on a strictly militaristic basis, with military uniforms, officers, drills, and maneuvers. It blindly follows and worships a leader. It has already canonized a saint. Its chief aim is to break the strong Jewish labor movement and to smash its institutions. Its economic program is unfettered private initiative as opposed to the collective effort and enterprise which early liberal Zionism introduced into Palestine. Its method is to terrorize its opponents with the aid of an undisguised army and secret terrorist organizations. Now these are all facts—proved, uncontrovertible facts which have rocked the Jewish world for several years. If they do not constitute fascism, what is fascism?

Mr. B. Itzkowitz admits that I "have described with approximate correctness the struggle of fascism for power in the Zionist movement," but he believes that I have exaggerated the implications of the described position. I am sorry to note that this opinion is not confined to Mr. Itzkowitz, but is shared by a number of prominent Jewish liberals, including even some who have themselves fought a valiant battle against Jewish fascism. The only way I can account for this sanguine mood of my liberal critics is that they live in the United States where general fascism is as yet only a dreaded shadow, not a real menace. In Central and Eastern Europe—the latter, for Jewish purposes, includes also Palestine—where fascism is a tragic reality, it has already produced its Jewish counterpart.

The criticism of Mr. A. H. Stern is probably the most justified of all. He complains that I did not stress sufficiently the great power and achievements of Jewish labor in Palestine and the strong opposition which it offers to Jewish fascism in that country. I agree that this is a serious omission. Unfortunately, *The Nation* cannot publish articles above a certain length, and much that I should have liked to include had to be left out. But may I point out, at the same time, that it is the Zionist labor movement in Europe and in Palestine that is most alarmed about the growth of Jewish fascism? I could quote pages upon pages from Zionist labor publications which warn against the menace of Jewish fascism in terms much stronger than my own. One must never forget the lesson of Nazi Germany. Was not German labor all-powerful before March, 1933? Were not its organizations strong and its institutions mighty as the rocks? And yet they collapsed at the first approach of the fascist wave, as if they were made of sand.

London, May 29

WILLIAM ZUKERMAN

The Unemployed League

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

A year ago the first convention of the National Unemployed League was held in Columbus, Ohio. Since then the league has grown steadily in strength. It has fought evictions, the commissary system, and wage cuts on relief work. In Toledo a trained, intelligent, hardened organization of the National Unemployed League, the Lucas County Unemployed League, defied Judge Stuart's injunction, set up mass picket lines, closed the Electric Auto-Lite plant, and fought shoulder to shoulder with the striking workers until the final victory was won.

The second convention of the National Unemployed League will be held in Columbus, Ohio, on July 23, 24, and 25. There are still local and State organizations of the unemployed which are not affiliated with a national movement of the unemployed, and we urge that they communicate with us for the purpose of taking part in the convention. Those of your readers who believe with us that the solidarity of the employed and unemployed is best demonstrated in action can help by contributions.

Communications from unemployed organizations seeking information about the convention should be sent in care of W. C. Montross, Arrangements Committee, 214 East Rich Street, Columbus, Ohio; contributions should be sent in care of Arnold Johnson at the same address.

Columbus, Ohio, June 10

WARREN C. MONTROSS

Books for Henry Street

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Among the activities at the Henry Street Settlement is a library which we have just opened, in which children as well as adults are encouraged to read good books. Our funds are limited, and we are obliged to appeal to the public for contributions of books and periodicals for our shelves. If any of your readers would like to make such contributions from their own library, we should be glad to call for them.

New York, May 17

BENJAMIN MILLER

Contributors to This Issue

SYDNEY R. ELLIOTT is managing editor of *Reynolds's Illustrated News*, the only democratically-owned and controlled national newspaper in Great Britain today.

LOUIS FISCHER, Moscow correspondent of *The Nation*, is the author of "The Soviets in World Affairs."

HELEN BOARDMAN with MARTHA GRUENING compiled material for "Thirty Years of Lynching," a publication issued in 1918 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She has made numerous other investigations for the N. A. A. C. P. Martha Gruening was graduated from the law school of New York University in 1914. She has also made several investigations for the N. A. A. C. P.

LIZETTE WOODWORTH REESE is well known as a poet. Her most recent volume is entitled "Pastures and Other Poems."

POWERS HAPGOOD has worked in mines in the United States, Wales, France, Germany, and Russia.

EDITH HAMILTON is the author of two books, "The Roman Way," and "The Greek Way."

Books

Ghosts

By LIZETTE WOODWORTH REESE

A book may give up ghosts;
A doubled music there—
One from the page, one from the dust—
Leaps up in the air.

Colors, and ancient sounds, and roads,
And lonely gates—these, too;
A grave at the scent of a flower,
Crash down and let one through.

Hissing the Villain

Three Plays. By John Dos Passos. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

MR. DOS PASSOS consigns the American theater and all its works to perdition or worse. One finishes the ten pages of his oratorical introduction a little bit breathless, and one is sure that if the occasion were only a Drama League dinner or something of the sort one would burst into applause. Here are all the clichés about gambling and the real-estate business, all the usual references to a national theater and how much better they order these things in Russia. Here are also the usual allusion to the Theater Guild as a business institution masquerading as an art theater and the usual sneer at the suburbanites who think that the Lunts are sophisticated. Moreover, Mr. Dos Passos, being an eloquent man, makes them seem almost original and almost true until one comes to read his own plays—one unproduced, the other two relics of the New Playwrights' Theater—when one realizes with a sudden sense of deflation how futile the whole argument is. However bad the American theater may be, it is not, to speak bluntly, anything like as bad as it would be if it were devoted chiefly to dramas like those which its critic supplies.

Doubtless Mr. Dos Passos would reply that he himself does not think these particular works especially good. Being a successful as well as a talented novelist, he is under no necessity of supposing that his futile and unsuccessful plays are masterpieces of their kind. But neither does he mention the names of any other dramatists, produced or unproduced, to whom our rotten theater refuses a hearing, and he says nothing to prove that the theater is not, after all, giving us the best plays available. The result is that the whole argument is painfully up in the air and obviously owes its entire existence to the fact that Mr. Dos Passos, being unhappy because the left-wing political movement in which he is interested has produced few good plays, would like to shift the responsibility to the theater itself and imply that if the latter were only what it ought to be, then dramatic masterpieces of the particular sort he happens to yearn for would mysteriously appear.

For some reason or other the drama, more than any other art form, gets the attention of romantic theorists with grandiose plans for some rebirth or other. Perhaps the reason is that it is obviously absurd to lecture the poets or the novelists as though they were some sort of perverse corporate body, whereas the theater is always being talked about as if it were something which only needed proper organization in order to call forth Shakespeares from all over the place. In any event, such theorists always imply exactly what Mr. Dos Passos implies, talking

as though theaters were responsible for dramatists and as though the proper way to launch a new dramatic movement was to build a new playhouse. The reverse is, of course, obviously the case. There was no "place in the theater" for Shaw or Ibsen. There was also no place in the theater for the kind of plays which the Theater Guild has by now taught half a dozen other producing organizations to put on. But when the plays appeared, a place was found, and when the kind of plays Mr. Dos Passos is longing for begin to be written, a place will be found for them too—if only they deserve it.

This is not, of course, to say that the experimental theater does not have a function. It is, in many instances, a necessity. But its existence does not create the plays, and if the plays are not there, then it is certain to wither away as a dozen experimental theaters have withered away during the last ten years. Why has the Theater Union succeeded when the New Playwright's Theater failed? Surely not because the former was any less commercial in its ideals or any more devoted to plays with a purpose. Perhaps the times are more propitious and perhaps the business arrangements are a bit more realistic. But the chief reason is that "Stevedore" is an effective play and that none of those produced by Mr. Dos Passos and his confederates were. When he is ready to present the scripts of five or six outstanding dramas which Broadway will not produce, his argument will begin to have some validity. Until then it is so purely academic that it is hardly worth while to worry much over what the commercial theater would do to certain playwrights if they did happen to exist. Nor is it, I think, time to talk, as Mr. Dos Passos does, about the need for a subsidized theater. It will be time enough to discuss that also when the plays to be subsidized have put in their appearance. If New York City had money for a municipal theater it would probably subsidize Channing Pollock. If Mr. Dos Passos's group had money it would probably subsidize him and his friends. Neither procedure would help much.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Return to Tragedy

Man's Fate. By André Malraux. Translated from the French by Haakon M. Chevalier. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. \$2.50.

FOR some readers the greatest significance of this book, which is significant in so many different ways, will be found in the fact that it restores to modern literature something which has been absent from it for a long time and to the complete disappearance of which one had become too easily reconciled. Tragedy, as it was more than once eloquently demonstrated during the last decade, disappeared from the modern world when Western man ceased to make any serious effort to relate his will to any conviction of his place and importance in the universe. Pathos, self-pity, morbid confusion, and simple undifferentiated gloom we have had in plenty, and modern writing on the whole has been anything but cheerful. But tragedy in the classical sense, which is still the only sense that matters, requires a more perfect synthesis of intellect and will, a cleaner definition of values, and a more developed capacity for action than were ever present at one and the same time in any of the heroes of the last literary generation. The most typical heroes of its fiction—the Edouards, the Birkins, the Hans Castorps—were seekers rather than actors. What they sought, of course, was something to which they might eventually give the full expression of their wills, which might enable them to become candidates for tragedy. But the will to discover is not the same as the will to act on what one fully

and completely believes: the arena of tragedy is life and not the mind.

Unlike Lawrence, Gide, Mann, and most of the other important novelists of the last generation, Malraux does not need to spend his energy as an artist in the conscious search for values on which to construct the dramatic pattern of his work. The real importance of "Man's Fate" is that it marks the beginning of a new period of literary creation in which the artist, in order to give strength and beauty to his work, need only observe, understand, and record the operation in character and conduct of values already present in experience. Now that the will has again been released, tragedy is once more possible: the old curve may be retraced, the immemorial emotion evoked. Malraux has not been the only recent writer to use the proletarian revolution as a theme; but he is the only one to recognize that for the artist what counts in such a revolution is the fact that it supplies a new value, a new source for tragedy.

As Leon Trotsky points out in the interesting letter on the jacket, the background of the Shanghai revolution of 1927 in this novel is *only* a background and not the subject. It is a little dangerous to state, as the translator does in his foreword, that the book is a "revolutionary document," even if one qualifies this immediately by saying that it is also a work of art. Undoubtedly one can learn a great deal about the Chinese revolution in particular and about revolutionary tactics in general from this work, but it is not so much a record or a manual of revolution that Malraux has written as a profound study of universal human psychology under the pressure of a particular set of conditions. It is essentially a novel about individuals, about a group of the most widely diversified and sharply accentuated individuals, to whom the revolution, as Trotsky puts it, imparts "a breaking-point force." As a result of the upheaval the power-made French capitalist loses his prestige and his mistress, the under-dog little shopkeeper is freed from the bondage of wife and family, the young Chinese terrorist realizes his mystical union with death, the mountebank Clappique merges his mythomania with reality, and the philosophical Gisors is able to accomplish his complete retreat from life.

The novel is tragic because we participate in destinies which have been determined by the most conscious exercise of the will over circumstances or fate. Fate, however, is neither external nor remote; it is man's own state or condition, the human lot itself, which provides at once the challenge and the disaster. "... the essence of man is anguish, the consciousness of his own fatality, from which all fears are born, even the fear of death." This is the voice of the elderly Gisors, the French intellectual abandoned to the opium dream of the Orient. And it is his voice again which murmurs, "It is very rare for a man to be able to endure—how shall I say it?—his condition, his fate as a man..." The answer to this is supplied by his son, the Communist agitator, in whose blood East and West are united: "... all that men are willing to die for, beyond self-interest, tends more or less obscurely to justify that fate by giving it a foundation in dignity: Christianity for the slave, the nation for the citizen, communism for the worker." Dignity is the name given to the value for which Kyo and his generation in China are fighting, and dignity is the word that comes to his lips shortly before he is condemned to death. It is not a new value, perhaps it is only a new restatement of an old one, but what gives such extraordinary power to Malraux's novel is the concentrated intensity with which it is worked out in the tragic pattern of his story.

The detached and melancholy Gisors stands in the way of our reaching any truly final conclusion as to the author's own attitude toward the particular temporal conditions presented in his book. For Gisors the world and reality are a dream, and since the revolution is a reality, that too is a dream, even though it takes from him his son. It is undoubtedly to this character that

Trotsky refers when he describes Malraux as an individualist and a pessimist. But it cannot be so easily demonstrated that this individualism and pessimism finally triumphs over itself, as Trotsky declares. Gisors preserves his inviolability to the end, like the leader in a Greek chorus. To say that Malraux may be completely identified with Gisors is, in the last analysis, as inaccurate as to say that he is an active propagandist for revolution. As an artist Malraux turns to those materials and to that theme which represent the most vital interest in the mind of the contemporary man aware of his own time. But, also as an artist, he maintains toward them that detachment which alone makes them possible for art.

WILLIAM TROY

Fair but Cloudy

Swift: or the Egotist. By Mario M. Rossi and Joseph M. Hone. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$5.

BIOGRAPHERS go on analyzing Swift's character when all they need to do is tell his story. Few of the essential facts are missing. He was a scholar who entered the church as he might have entered any other profession. He had political ambitions, thrived while his party was in power, and went out with the Tories when the Whigs succeeded. Having been a great man in England, he was a very great man in Ireland, and he there unofficially led the opposition to the Whig government. Throughout his life he never had enough to occupy him fully except during his brief period of triumph. Restlessness drove him to violent acts and words which made him a legend. After his death the legend grew, multiplying mysteries. There were all sorts of speculation about the malady which kept him much of the time in physical distress. The malady, however, is now tolerably well understood and can take its proper place in the story. So, too, can his relations with Stella and Vanessa. Stella was as much a wife as he wanted her to be, Vanessa rather more a mistress than he had planned. The story lacks nothing but the details of whatever sexual intimacy may have been involved. And of how many similar stories does the world know more than it guesses?

The two writers who have worked together on another life of Swift do a good deal of analyzing. In a wordy and grandiose introduction they build up a large theory which boils down to the statement that Swift was an egotist so taken up with himself that he could never comprehend anybody else. The statement really means little, and it is not true. No complete egotist could have had and held such friends as Swift's. Wise Arbuthnot wrote to him: "That hearty, sincere friendship, that plain and open ingenuity in all your commerce, is what I am sure I shall never find in another man." And touchy Pope wrote of Swift that he was "the best-natured and most indulgent man I know." Although he was obsessed with his own aims, like any genius, he was not unimaginative or insensitive. He did not like the weak, the stupid, the false, or the corrupt, and he would not excuse them by calling them merely "human." If that was humanity, so much the worse for it. Here was its face in the sternest mirror it has ever had a chance to study. Swift's egotism was hardly more than a ruthless austerity.

This two-handed biography, having offered its theory about Swift, proceeds with his story as most earlier biographies have done. The only novelties are the arguments, which are sometimes confused and generally pretentious. The material is not altogether subdued to the theory, and without the introductory Paradox on the Egotist the narrative would not wholly carry out the underlying idea as to Swift's nature. That is, the book is truer than its doctrine. The biographers make big claims, but they are frequently shrewd as well as bold. The trouble

with them is that they must be forever analyzing. The trouble with that, so far as Swift is concerned, is that he is one of the least analyzable, which means classifiable, of men. Perhaps most human beings fall into a few simple classes, and any one of them can be placed where he belongs. Swift was intensely individual. His character was no more like any other recorded man's than his writing was. Explanations which drag him at this or that point into this or that category blur the picture. The business of his biographer is to find out what Swift did and said, and to tell it plainly. He was himself extraordinarily explicit about most of what he thought and felt. To believe that he meant what he said is a better way to get at him than to think that because most men would not have meant it therefore Swift did not. To show the man he was is better than to try to show the kind of man he was.

CARL VAN DOREN

Aesthetics and Agitation

Capital, by Karl Marx, in *Lithographs*. By Hugo Gellert. Ray Long and Richard Smith. \$3.

Portrait of America. By Diego Rivera. With an Explanatory Text by Bertram D. Wolfe. Covici-Friede. \$3.50.

IF Hugo Gellert were not a Communist he would be a successful commercial illustrator. In other words, Gellert made a name for himself as an artist primarily because of his politics, and so it is necessary to evaluate his work in the same way, first politically and second technically. His series of lithographs for "Capital" is an ambitious effort to put Marx, and Marxism, in pictures. The book consists of extracts from "Capital," presumably chosen by Gellert as the most illuminating and convincing passages, each accompanied by a picture. His object is to help make Marx clear to the workers.

How does Gellert go about this difficult job of concentration, clarification, and illumination? He must, if he sticks to Marx, give in picture form two notions: one, the historical workings of the class struggle; the other, the workings of the capitalist system. He must furthermore imbue his pictures with what is called "impulsive" quality; that is, they must make the beholder feel some of the action in the formula "Workers of all the world, unite," and feel also the need to partake in that action. This is a job that requires clear political thinking, a thorough, realistic historical knowledge, and a mastery of pamphleteering or propaganda technique, as well as burning emotion and the ability to translate it into telling concepts and designs. He must have intellectual, emotional, and manual gifts above the average in order to accomplish successfully the job he has set for himself.

Gellert fails. Equipped with the belief that to be a Marxist automatically solves every intellectual problem—I have heard him say this—and with a flashy, academic technique, he makes an elementary mistake, approaching the Marxist philosophy in a spirit of faith and glorification rather than analysis. As a result he gives us a Marx translated into static, mystical symbolism—in spirit like catacomb paintings and technically, aesthetically, like the work of a magazine-cover artist relying on tricky "effects" in the worst academic manner and on superficial sentiment in the worst bourgeois taste.

The combination of two or three quoted paragraphs with a picture on the opposite page splits Marx into invocations pointed up with symbols often incomprehensible, sometimes having only an accidental connection with the text. For example, to illustrate Marx's lucid and moving description of the break-up of the feudal land system in England and the forcing of the peasantry off the land—literally hunted off, persecuted off, so that, as Marx says, the motto became "the transformation of arable land into sheep-walks," Gellert draws a full-page pic-

ture of a pair of sheep! In another place where Marx describes the brutal subjection of the American and other aborigines, Gellert draws a full-sized Christ on a cross! The book is full of these things, along with hugely muscled workers and enormous hands, pictures of hunger and paunched money bags, the ABC of propaganda language. Emotional conviction is not enough for the artist who calls himself a Marxist. Science—comprehension and mastery of historical, sociological, psychological principles—must be the foundation of his work—not faith.

To clarify the problem that revolutionist artists are trying to solve—namely, how to make their work socially useful and emotionally moving—it is worth while comparing one job with another, checking both, if you like, against a general combination of "desirables." Put Gellert's "Capital" and Rivera's "Portrait of America" side by side on your table; they have a good many things in common. They are both designed—in the teeth of their price—for the information and agitation of American workers. They use a similar technique, combining text with pictures. Both are still tied to some of the conventions of art monographs, "featuring" the artist and serving in that respect as pieces of individual publicity.

Neither Gellert nor Rivera successfully makes the shift from the art monograph to agitational art. In Gellert's book the disconnection between pictures and text, the emphasis on the pictures and their meaninglessness as pieces of agitation reveal the artist still in a dialogue only with his craft. In Rivera's, the biography and the introduction, explanation, and apology for the Stock Exchange murals in San Francisco are interesting and revealing to friends and students of Rivera's art and personality, but are a barrier in an agitational book. This is also true to some extent of the Detroit murals and even of the vandalized Rockefeller Center panels. Both are (or were!) pieces of interpretative exposition, stimulating intellectually, rich aesthetically, but passive in character, like a lecture. The pictures are balanced, static, in themselves contain a complete katharsis; this is true not only of the ideas but of the composition, which is almost invariably carefully symmetrical.

The murals called *Portrait of America* in the New Workers' School are a good many steps farther to the left than anything Rivera had done previously, and since apparently the artist—perhaps for the first time—was in a rage when he painted them, a priceless ingredient went into his work and they are without question the peak of his achievement, to date. Here, too, he had another audience. He was talking directly to radical students and workers, he had them around him as he painted, and he had as collaborator Bertram Wolfe, an experienced teacher and agitator. Whoever looks at these pictures and reads the text with any degree of sympathy for the labor point of view, is bound to be stirred by them; for they do strike the dominant chord of effective agitation—anger—and they do leave an enraging impression that the reader, the American citizen, has been viciously cheated. This uncomfortable feeling is a catalyst for further feelings, thoughts, and actions.

There are, it is true, major gaps in Rivera's history of the class struggle in America. The tie-up between plutocrats and political figures is made very specific up to and including the World War, but not after, though this omission or diplomatic evasion is met by Wolfe's brilliantly lucid, extremely specific text. On the other hand the final impression is that the class struggle in America debouches into a powerful unity between the three sections of the Communist movement (Panel XIX) and here, as frequently in the past, Rivera hooks a wish-fulfillment conclusion to conflicting reality, thus "resolving" into relief the anger, fear, distress, and other fighting emotions at first aroused.

The fundamental aesthetic pattern underlying these murals is therefore the same mold in which non-revolutionary art de-

signed to satisfy and relieve is always cast, and in pouring factual material which does not in itself carry that pattern into the old mold, Rivera is forced to depart from fact to resolve the conflict; thereby the agitational impetus contained in the material is dissipated by the form. Both Rivera and Gellert bear the more or less official stamp as revolutionists. But in their work both artists stand with one foot on the other side of the barricades.

ANITA BRENNER

The Problem of Coal

Miners and Management. By Mary Van Kleeck. Russell Sage Foundation. \$2.

The Plight of the Bituminous Coal Miner. By Homer L. Morris. University of Pennsylvania Press. \$3.

MARY VAN KLEECK'S latest contribution to the Industrial Relations Series of the Russell Sage Foundation has the unusual quality of being both a careful and unprejudiced study of a particular industry and at the same time an exact statement of the author's own position. There is no sitting on the fence in this book. "There can be no fundamental reconciliation of interests between workers and management in privately owned industry," says Miss Van Kleeck. "Private ownership, seeking profits, is inherently in conflict with labor, seeking to raise wages." Capitalism in the coal industry is critically analyzed in this book. While the author is friendly to organized labor, the miners' union comes in for its share of criticism also. She points out that the leadership of the United Mine Workers of America, in the face of defeat, developed "no adequate program of workers' action," and that "dictatorial tendencies in the United Mine Workers have made it more and more difficult for the rank and file of the miners, through united protest, to protect themselves against constant onslaughts on their wage scale."

For those interested in cooperation between labor and capital the most important part of "Miners and Management" is the first portion, which deals with the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company. Under the leadership of the idealistic and practical Josephine Roche this company voluntarily signed a wage contract with the United Mine Workers of America at a time when all the other coal companies in Colorado were resorting to any means necessary to keep their mines from being unionized. Daily and yearly income of the miners increased beyond those of the employees of any other coal company in the State, the cost per ton decreased as a result of better workmanship, production and sales increased so that the company advanced from the third largest to the second largest in the State. In the face of serious opposition from other companies because of its union policy, the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company was saved through the cooperation of its men aided by the State Federation of Labor, which put on a coal-selling campaign, urging its members to buy coal from the only union mining company in Colorado. Facts and statistics are taken from the records of the company to show the difference between its operations under the old non-union policy and the new one inaugurated by Miss Roche when she obtained a controlling interest. Most interesting to students of labor relations are the records of meetings between management and representatives of the miners. As one who was employed by the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company during part of the period with which this study deals, first as a coal digger and later as an assistant mining engineer, I know from experience the accuracy of this report.

In Part II Miss Van Kleeck ceases to be a mere reporter of one company's interesting experiment and offers a solution for the sick coal industry. She shows that scientific management must be applied to the industry as a whole, but this cannot

be done under private ownership, as "management cannot have a scope for control wider than the ownership with which it is associated." She concludes her description of the coal industry with the clear statement that "out of this study of a single experiment in cooperation between miners and management, and out of a review of the present problem of coal in the light of the past, emerges the conclusion that socialization of all natural resources as a part of a planned economy is the only solution for the breakdown of the coal industry."

Very different is the solution offered by Homer L. Morris in "The Plight of the Bituminous Coal Miner." This book is valuable as a study of miners' lives and thoughts; it is, in fact, one of the most interesting and accurate studies that I have read. The author interviewed more than nine hundred miners in West Virginia and Kentucky while he was doing relief work among starving miners and their families under the auspices of the American Friends' Service Committee. He shows the disintegration of the coal industry because of its overdevelopment, competing fuels, and the depression; describes the drabness and poverty of mining camps, the feudalism of company-owned towns, and the inability of the union to hold its members before the inclusion of Section 7-a in the Recovery Act. Many of the miners are quoted in regard to their opinions about the industry. An answer that is typical of the ready wit of miners is that of one who was asked if the reason that he didn't get a job in another industry was that he preferred mining. "I'd rather," he said, "be back on the old farm in Georgia naked and one-eyed than a miner in Kentucky with fifty dollars."

As a description of the problems of coal this book is excellent, but it ends with a typical social-worker solution. Whether the author merely wants to avoid being called a "propagandist," a possibility which holds no terror for Miss Van Kleeck, or whether he really believes in his solution I do not know. At any rate he advocates "a systematic transference of these stranded miners to other communities where they will have an opportunity to become self-supporting." Just what other industries can absorb them he fails to mention. After the surplus miners have been transported outside the mining regions, other men should be prevented by law from entering the mining industry. As a means of solving the problem for miners only partially employed, gardens donated by the companies will, in his opinion, enable them to raise their own food. This should not arouse the opposition of company stores because the money that the miners do not spend there for vegetables will still be spent at the stores for things which they are not now able to afford and on which the stores will make a larger profit. It is a solution based on patching an outworn system through intelligent leadership on the part of the coal companies rather than through a planned economy which would give to the workers enough to buy what they produce. The book contains valuable statistics and records, but it lacks the clarity and realism of Miss Van Kleeck's analysis.

POWERS HAPGOOD

Faint Hope in Darkness

To the Vanquished. By I. A. R. Wylie. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

THE publishers, equivocally performing on the inside flap of the dust cover, subtly imply that Miss Wylie delineates a conflict between equal and equivalent forces in contemporary Germany. Such is not the case. With somber power and a kind of dark and visionary clarity she bears the most unequivocal witness to the unmitigated foulness and fury of the attack which is being delivered in Germany against all that for centuries has seemed hopeful and of good report to

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civilized men. Her story and its implications are strengthened by her imaginative understanding of those wretched, hopeless, hunger-worn youths who in Germany as elsewhere plunged into chaos and vented the aimless cruelty of their riven nerves upon objects pointed out to them by coldly astute criminals. She has, in fact, studied her scene and her people with the most scrupulous accuracy and taken care to weave into her almost legendary texture all the salient elements of the situation: the exculpatory myth of Germany's undefeatedness, the barbarous subjection of women, the contempt for reason and goodness, the insane self-intoxication, the deliberate cult of savagery—"We Germans have to be hard," Arndt said in his strange, dead voice, "men of steel with hammer fists and iron hearts. We must be able to wade through blood."

I must not do Miss Wylie an injustice more serious than that done her by the publishers by giving the impression that her novel is a thesis novel or a pamphlet novel, though this would be no reproach in a period when the novel has taken the place of the pamphlet in, let us say, the Swiftian sense. Her creative texture is dense and unbroken. Like most contemporaries she does not aim at the virtues of narrative. But in brief, penetrating, self-contained scenes, sparingly lit, deeply shadowed, she conveys vision after vision that symbolize memorably this dreadful crisis in human affairs. The martyred rabbi, the magnificent Dr. Roth dragging his broken body through the unspeakable storm troopers' barracks, the conquest of the torturers by the tortured, so that Gerhardt puts a bullet through his head and Wolf von Selteneck releases his prisoners and flees—these scenes and figures have a very high degree of emotional poignancy and imaginative power.

It is, in truth, not too much to say that "To the Vanquished" is quite the best novel on its theme next to Feuchtwanger's "Geschwister Oppenheim." And Miss Wylie has several advantages over Feuchtwanger. She does not have to substitute cleverness, learning, craftsmanship, all that a high intelligence can achieve, for the creative spark. She is a Gentile and an Englishwoman and had not, therefore, self-consciously to cultivate objectivity and irony. Her book has—I use the word again—a legendary quality; it has creative depth and inner fire; its final scenes stir the reader to the point of pain. It will not be popular. It is far too good.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

The Greek Past

A Biography of the Greek People. By Cecil Fairfield Lavell. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.

Aspects of Athenian Democracy. By Robert J. Bonner. University of California Press. \$2.25.

OF the books of this passing show today, the books that are perpetually coming and—often—going, a quite astonishing number have to do with the past. We are historically and biographically minded just now, and even archaeologically and anthropologically minded. We are looking back almost as much as we are looking forward. The part curiosity has in this attitude is far less than the consciousness of our pressing need to understand human life better. We must understand or we shall never solve our troubles, which are all human troubles. And there, for our reading, lies the great book of human experience, the record of what men throughout the ages have learned about life and themselves.

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author's point of view is the result of a combination rarely found, a deep sympathy and wide acquaintance with the working of men's minds in ages long gone by, joined to a keen understanding of the way our minds work in this age here present. Only a few can make a living connection between the two, but they alone can make the past live. In this book the Greeks speak to twentieth-century America, and yet, so admirable is Professor Lavell's method, the moral is never drawn, the connection never pointed out. We see for ourselves that the questions they asked about life are our own; we cannot escape from the perception that the shipwreck they were unable to avoid may lie ahead of us. Are we going to exemplify again the truth of the "cycle" of Polybius—primitive despotism, changing into kingship and then into aristocracy, which, always growing so bad as to cause revolt, is succeeded by democracy, which in turn results in such a contempt for law that there is an inevitable reversion to despotism? A cycle that never changed, the Greeks thought, and for one reason—the lack of "noble self-restraint." That restraint was well known in Greece. The artists and the poets practiced it, and so they live forever; in the political life it was almost unknown, and so the Greek state passed away forever. This is but a single example out of many of the way the book stimulates one to join past to present. It will have a wide circle of readers, and few of them will close it without realizing afresh, in Professor Lavell's phrase, "what difference Athens made"—for the reason, above all, that she can still make a difference today.

Professor Bonner's book is clearly based upon a series of lectures. It bears the mark of its origin in repetitions, natural to a lecturer who must remind his hearers on Wednesday of what he said on Monday, but irritating to the reader, who is, for example, introduced to Cleisthenes, his family, his political tendencies, his reforms, on page 4, and then all over again on page 32, precisely as if there had been no mention of him before. The reason for embodying the lectures in a book is hardly apparent. There is nothing new in Professor Bonner's treatment of a subject which is easily available for a student in many books, and it is difficult to imagine anyone not a student caring to read it. However, as a manual, clearly and often pleasantly written and decorated with well-chosen quotations, it may undoubtedly have its uses for the earnest inquirer into the ways of the Athenian Democracy.

EDITH HAMILTON

Shorter Notices

Sky Determines. An Interpretation of the Southwest. By Ross Calvin. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

This is an excellent book on New Mexico. The author explains the fauna and flora, the geographical formations, even the very lives of the Indians and of the Spanish settlers as determined by the "sky," in other words by the climate. And what is more, he explains the climate. Most writing about the Southwest has tended to describe the pictorial and exotic quality of the scenery, the alien cultures of the peoples, merely as any tourist might note them. Dr. Calvin has lived a long time in New Mexico and has made a careful study of its climate, archaeology, and anthropology. The history of New Mexico, from ancient to modern times, he considers to be the result of the influences of climate. Here he is in accord with such general theorists in history as Frederick Taggard of the University of California, whose "Prolegomena to History" presented a general theory of the influence of climate upon various people. Dr. Calvin's book, far from being a dull treatise, is extremely well written, poetically conceived and scientifically grounded. It is a book which anyone traveling in New Mexico might learn much from, one which any student of geographical conditions or of

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the human history resulting from such conditions might thoroughly enjoy. It is, indeed, the best book on the Southwest yet written.

Indeed This Flesh. By Grace Flandrau. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. \$2.50.

"Indeed This Flesh" purports to detail the life of an idealistic real-estate trader of St. Paul, late in the nineteenth century. Farm-bred William Quane followed the pattern of his time by forsaking his law books to devote himself to the boom in Western lands. He was not quite fitted for the business of land-grabbing, since the poetry of exploitation appealed to him more than its practical side. "St. Paul smiles expectantly at the future, and the future smiles back out of the West," he wrote with frenzied rhetoric, but the future beamed more fondly on some of his contemporaries who were incapable of inventing such pretty figures. He was able to wrest few material things from the world; in business and in marriage he was highly unsuccessful. Yet through a lifetime of failure he carried on an intense, troubled, but occasionally satisfactory inner life. In this manifestation he was philosopher, moralist, saint, and sinner. The flesh warred secretly and shamefully with the spirit. He thought muddily and felt keenly while the world about him made dizzy advances to wealth and power. Absorbed in the interior of his skull, he never knew until he looked suddenly in a mirror that he was an old-fashioned, outlandish figure of a man. Mrs. Flandrau is just as heedlessly engrossed in the inner activity of William Quane as he was. Her research into the life of early St. Paul has doubtless been careful, yet one feels that she is quite unable to grasp the feeling of it. In the same way it appears that she has no conception of William Quane as a functioning human being, a man who went to work, took pleasure trips, played with the children. The book is full of details which ought to illuminate these subjects, but they are

handled in a lifeless, amateurish fashion. Mrs. Flandrau has unwisely spent her last ounce of energy, her last distilled drop of sensibility on the hysterical account of one small segment of a neurotic's life. Her novel, which contains some fine writing, is consequently painfully distorted and extremely unreal.

Becoming a Writer. By Dorothea Brande. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

This, emphatically, is not another book on the technique of fiction. It is an analysis of the difficulties met with by every writer, the difficulties of overcoming all obstacles that inhibit the release of the subconscious. And as such it is a very exciting book indeed. Mrs. Brande tells writers how to find the proper stimuli, how to employ certain devices which will release the subconscious mind for its proper creative work. She even tells them how to choose their friends, how to relax, how to set up definite habits of writing. And every writer will know that, psychologically, she is quite right in her judgments about the conditions under which writers can do their best work. She takes up the specific problems of the occasional writer, the uneven writer, the one-book author. Every writer, according to Mrs. Brande, is two people, nor is the dissociation psychopathic. Creative workers have not only the right but the necessity to live in two compartments. Nor must they allow the active, conscious life to shut away the emotional subconscious and creative life. They must learn when to use the conscious and critical mind and when not to use it. The reader will find himself following Mrs. Brande's suggestions for overcoming whatever barrier is in his way toward greater creativeness. If he has to get up half an hour earlier to do some scribbling on a pad beside his bed, he will be inclined at least to try that particular trick. It might help him. Mrs. Brande's book is rich with devices for ridding oneself of inhibitions to writing. Some are amusing, but psychologically they are sound.

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